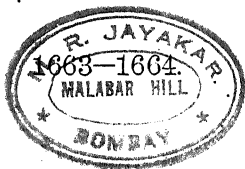


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THE DIARY  
OF  
SAMUEL PEPYS.



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## INTRODUCTION.

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OUR last entry from Mr. Pepys's Diary was dated September 30th, 1663. In this volume will be found his Diary in full, for the year 1664; the chief points in his record for October, November and December, 1663, being given briefly in this Introduction.

On the 5th of October Lord Sandwich sent a messenger to know whether the King intended to come to Newmarket, that if he did, he might be entertained at Hinchinbrooke.

On the 12th the officials of the Admiralty attended the Duke of York at St. James's; where Mr. Coventry, who was commonly accused of taking more fees than were just, of his own accord told this to the Duke, and appealed to him and to all to say whether he took more than had been taken by his predecessors. Sir G. Carteret said that Mr. Coventry sold places, and ought not to do so. Mr. Coventry replied hotly that it was Sir

George Carteret who taught him to do so, "and that he told him that Mr. Smith should say that he made £5,000 the first year, and he believed he made £7,000. This Sir G. Carteret denied, and said, that if he did say so, he told a lie; for he could not, nor did know, that ever he did make that profit of his place; but that he believes he might say £2,500 the first year. Mr. Coventry instanced in another thing, particularly wherein Sir G. Carteret did advise with him about the selling of the Auditor's place of the stores, when in the beginning there was an intention of creating such an office. This he confessed, but with some lessening of the tale Mr. Coventry told, it being only for a respect to my Lord Fitz Harding. In fine, Mr. Coventry did put into the Duke's hand a list of above 250 places that he did give without receiving one farthing, so much as his ordinary fees for them, upon his life and oath; and that since the Duke's establishment of fees he had never received one token more of any man; and that in his whole life he never conditioned or discoursed of any consideration from any commanders since he came to the Navy. And afterwards, my Lord Barkeley merrily discoursing that he wished his



[Mr. Coventry's] profit greater than it was, and that he did believe that he [Mr. Coventry] had got £50,000 since he came in, Mr. Coventry did openly declare that his Lordship, or any of us, should have, not only all he had got, but all that he had in the world, and yet he did not come a beggar into the Navy, nor would yet be thought to speak in any contempt of his Royal Highness's bounty ; and should have a year to consider of it too, for £25,000. The Duke's answer was, that he wished we all had made more profit than we had of our places, and that we had all of us got as much as one man below stairs in the Court, which he presently named, and it was Sir George Lane.

“13th, I find at Court, that either the King is doubtful of some disturbance, or else would seem so, and I have reason to hope it is no worse, by his commanding little commanders of castles, &c., to repair to their charges ; and mustering the Guards the other day himself, where he found reason to dislike their condition to my Lord Gerard, finding so many absent men, or dead pays. My Lady Castlemaine, I hear, is in as great favour as ever, and the King supped with her the very first night he came from Bath ; and last night and the night

before supped with her ; when there being a chine of beef to roast, and the tide rising into their kitchen that it could not be roasted there, and the cook telling her of it, she answered, " Zounds ! she must set the house on fire but it should be roasted ! " So it was carried to Mrs. Sarah's husband's, and there it was roasted."

Next Pepys went to and described a service at a Jewish Synagogue. On the 17th there was discourse of the Queen's being very sick if not dead. On the 18th :—

" The parson, Mr. Mills, I perceive, did not know whether to pray for the Queen or no, and so said nothing about her ; which makes me fear she is dead. But inquiring of Sir J. Minnes, he told me that he heard she was better last night. To church again, and there a simple coxcomb preached worse than the Scot.

" 19th. Waked with a very high wind, and said to my wife, " I pray God I hear not of the death of any great person, this wind is so high ! " fearing that the Queen might be dead. So up ; and going by coach with Sir W. Batten and Sir J. Minnes to St. James's, they tell me that Sir W. Compton, who it is true had been a little sickly for a week or

fortnight, but was very well upon Friday at night last at the Tangier Committee with us, was dead—died yesterday: at which I was most exceedingly surprised, he being, and so all the world saying that he was, one of the worthiest men and best officers of State now in England; and so in my conscience he was: of the best temper, valour, ability of mind, integrity, worth, fine person, and diligence of any one man he hath left behind him in the three kingdoms; and yet not forty years old, or if so, that is all. I find the sober men of the Court troubled for him; and yet not so as to hinder or lessen their mirth, talking, laughing, and eating, drinking, and doing everything else, just as if there was no such thing.

“Coming to St. James’s, I hear that the Queen did sleep five hours pretty well to-night, and that she waked and gargled her mouth, and to sleep again; but that her pulse beats fast, beating twenty to the King’s or my Lady Suffolk’s eleven; but not so strong as it was. It seems she was so ill as to be shaved, and pigeons put to her feet, and to have the extreme unction given her by the priests, who were so long about it that the doctors were angry. The King, they all say, is most fondly disconsolate

for her, and weeps by her, which makes her weep ; which one this day told me he reckons a good sign, for that it carries away some rheum from the head."

Then follows note of much talk about the Turk's proceedings, and that "the plague is got to Amsterdam, brought by a ship from Argier ; and it is also carried to Hambrough." Then follows more of the Queen's illness, said to be spotted fever, "that she was as full of spots as a leopard ;" of the King's grief, which does not prevent him from supping every night with Lady Castlemaine ; and of the skill of Dr. Prujeon, whose cordial got credit for the Queen's recovery. But she remained delirious, and all her talk was of having children. Rumours come next of the proceedings of the Turks, and of the King of France ; and this note from experience of a Lord Mayor's Dinner at Guildhall on the 29th of October :—

"Under every salt there was a bill of fare, and at the end of the table the persons proper for the table. Many were the tables, but none in the Hall but the Mayor's and the Lords of the Privy Council that had napkins or kniyes, which was very strange. We went into the Buttery and there stayed and talked, and then into the Hall again,

and there wine was offered, and they drunk, I only drinking some hippocras, which do not break my vow, it being, to the best of my present judgment, only a mixed compound drink, and not any wine. If I am mistaken, God forgive me! but I do hope and think I am not. By and by met with Creed: and we, with the others, went within the several Courts, and there saw the tables prepared for the ladies, and judges, and bishops: all great signs of a great dinner to come. By and by, about one o'clock, before the Lord Mayor come, come into the Hall, from the room where they were first led into, the Chancellor, Archbishop before him, with the Lords of the Council, and other Bishops, and they to dinner. Anon comes the Lord Mayor, who went up to the Lords, and then to the other tables to bid welcome; and so all to dinner. I sat near Proby, Baron, and Creed at the Merchant Strangers' table; where ten good dishes to a mess, with plenty of wine of all sorts, of which I drunk none; but it was very displeasing that we had no napkins nor change of trenchers, and drunk out of earthen pitchers, and wooden dishes. It happened that after the lords had half dined, come the French Ambassador up to the lords' table where he was to

have sat : he would not sit down nor dine with the Lord Mayor, who was not yet come, nor have a table to himself, which was offered ; but in a discontent went away again. After I had dined, I and Creed rose and went up and down the house, and up to the ladies' room, and there stayed gazing upon them. But though there were many and fine, both young and old, yet I could not discern one handsome face there ; which was very strange. I expected music, but there was none but only trumpets and drums, which displeased me. The dinner, it seems, is made by the Mayor and two Sheriffs for the time being, the Lord Mayor paying one-half, and they the other. And the whole, Proby says, is reckoned to come to about £700 or £800 at most. Being wearied with looking upon a company of ugly women, Creed and I went away, and took coach, and through Cheapside and there saw the pageants, which were very silly. The Queen mends apace, they say ; but yet talks idle still.

“ 30th. At my periwig-maker's, and there showed my wife the periwig made for me, and she likes it very well, and so to my brother's, and to buy a pair of boddice for her.

"31st. To my great sorrow find myself £43 worse than I was the last month, which was then £760, and now it is but £717. But it hath chiefly arisen from my layings-out in clothes for myself and wife ; viz., for her about £12, and for myself £55, or thereabouts ; having made myself a velvet cloak, two new cloth shirts, black, plain both ; a new shag gown, trimmed with gold buttons and twist, with a new hat, and silk tops for my legs, and many other things, being resolved henceforward to go like myself. And also two periwigs, one whereof cost me £3, and the other 40s. I have worn neither yet, but will begin next week, God willing."

On the 2nd of November Pepys "heard the Duke say that he was going to wear a periwig : and they say the King also will." On the 8th Pepys enters that he went "to church, where I found that my coming in a periwig did not prove so strange as I was afraid it would, for I thought that all the church would presently have cast their eyes all upon me."

The entry in the diary for November 9th is interesting for the fulness of its detail of talk upon current politics with the Duke of York, and with

Mr. Pierce the surgeon, who took a gloomy view of the condition of the court and country.

“9th. To the Duke, where, when we came into his closet, he told us that Mr. Pepys was so altered with his new periwig, that he did not know him. So to our discourse, and among and above other things, we were taken up in talking upon Sir J. Lawson’s coming home, he being come to Portsmouth; and Captain Berkeley is come to town with a letter from the Divan of Algiers to the King, wherein they do demand again the searching of our ships and taking out of strangers and their goods; and that what English ships are taken without the Duke’s pass, they will detain, though it be flat contrary to the words of the peace, as prizes, till they do hear from our King, which they advise him may be speedy. And this they did the very next day after they had received with great joy the Grand Seignior’s confirmation of the peace from Constantinople by Captain Berkeley; so that there is no command nor certainty to be had of these people. The King is resolved to send his will by a fleet of ships; and it is thought best and speediest to send these very ships that are now come home, five sail of good ships, back again,



after cleaning, victualling, and paying them. But it is a pleasant thing to think how their Pasha, Shavan Aga, did tear his hair to see the soldiers order things thus; for, just like his late predecessor, when they see the evil of war with England, then for certain they complain to the Grand Seignior of him, and cut his head off, this he is sure of, and knows as certain. Thence to Westminster Hall, where I met with Mr. Pierce, surgeon; and, among other things, he asked me seriously whether I knew anything of my Lord's being out of favour with the King; and told me, that for certain the King does take mighty notice of my Lord's living obscurely in a corner not like himself, and becoming the honour that he is come to. I was sorry to hear, and the truth is, from my Lord's discourse among his people, which I am told of, the uncertainty of princes' favour, and his melancholy keeping from Court, I am doubtful of some such thing; but I seemed wholly strange to him in it, but will make my use of it. He told me also how loose the Court is, nobody looking after business, but every man his lust and gain; and how the King is now become besotted upon Mrs. Stewart, that he gets into corners, and will be with her half an hour

together, kissing her to the observation of all the world; and she now stays by herself and expects it, as my Lady Castlemaine used to do; to whom the King, he says, is still kind, so as now and then he goes to her, as he believes; but with no such fondness as he used to do. But yet it is thought that this new wench is so subtle, that it is verily thought, if the Queen had died, he would have married her. The Duke of Monmouth is to have part of the Cockpit new built for lodgings for him, and they say to be made Captain of the Guards in the room of my Lord Gerard. Mr. Blackburn and I fell to talk of many things, wherein he was very open to me: first, in that of religion, he makes it greater matter of prudence for the King and Council to suffer liberty of conscience; and imputes the loss of Hungary to the Turk from the Emperor's denying them this liberty of their religion. He says that many pious ministers of the Word of God, some thousands of them, do now beg their bread; and told me how highly the present clergy do carry themselves everywhere, so as that they are hated and laughed at by everybody; among other things, for their excommunications, which they send upon the least occasions

almost that can be. And I am convinced in my judgment, not only from his discourse, but my thoughts in general, that the present clergy will never heartily go down with the generality of the commons of England ; they have been so used to liberty and freedom, and they are so acquainted with the pride and debauchery of the present clergy. He did give me many stories of the affronts which the clergy receive in all places of England from the gentry and ordinary persons of the parish. He tells me what the City thinks of General Monk, as of a most perfidious man that hath betrayed everybody, and the King also ; who, as he thinks, and his party, and so I have heard other good friends of the King say, it might have been better for the King to have had his hands a little bound for the present, than be forced to bring such a crew of poor people about him, and be liable to satisfy the demands of every one of them. He told me, that to his knowledge, being present at every meeting of the treaty at the Isle of Wight, the old King did confess himself overruled, and convinced in his judgment against the bishops, and would have suffered, and did agree, to exclude the service out of the churches, nay, his own

chapel ; and that he did always say, that this he did not by force, for that he would never abate one inch by any violence ; but what he did was out of his reason and judgment. He tells me that the King by name, with all his dignities, is prayed for by them that they call fanatics, as heartily and powerfully as in any of the other churches that are thought better : and that, let the King think what he will, it is them that must help him in the day of war. For so generally they are the most substantial sort of people, and the soberest ; and did desire me to observe it to my Lord Sandwich, among other things, that of all the old army now you cannot see a man begging about the streets ; but what ? You shall have this captain turned a shoemaker ; the lieutenant, a baker ; this a brewer ; that a haberdasher ; this common soldier, a porter ; and every man in his apron and frock, &c., as if they never had done anything else ; whereas, the others go with their belts and swords, swearing and cursing, and stealing ; running into people's houses, by force oftentimes, to carry away something ; and this is the difference between the temper of one and the other ; and concludes, and I think with some reason, that the spirits of the old Parliament

soldiers are so quiet and contented with God's providences, that the King is safer from any evil meant him by them one thousand times more than from his own discontented Cavalier. And then to the public management of business: it is done, as he observes, so loosely and so carelessly, that the kingdom can never be happy with it, every man looking after himself and his own lust and luxury; and that half of what money the Parliament gives the King is not so much as gathered. And to the purpose, he told me how the Bellamys, who had some of the northern counties assigned them for their debt for the petty warrant victualling, have often complained to him that they cannot get it collected, for that nobody minds, or, if they do, they won't pay it in. Whereas, which is a very remarkable thing, he hath been told by some of the Treasurers at War here of late, to whom the most of the £120,000 monthly was paid, that for most months the payments were gathered so dully, that they seldom had so much or more than forty shillings, or the like, short in the whole collection, whereas, now the very Commissioners for Assessments, and other public payments, are such persons and those that they choose in the country so like

themselves, that from top to bottom there is not a man careful of anything, or, if he be, is not solvent; that what between the beggar and the knave, the King is abused the best part of all his revenue. We then talked of the Navy, and of Sir W. Pen's rise to be a General. He told me he was always a conceited man, and one that would put the best side outward, but that it was his pretence of sanctity that brought him into play. Lawson, and Portman, and the fifth-monarchy men, among whom he was a great brother, importuned that he might be General; and it was pleasant to see how Blackburn himself did act it; how, when the Commissioners of the Admiralty would inquire of the captains and admirals of such and such men, how they would, with a sigh and casting up the eyes, say, 'Such a man fears the Lord,' or, 'I hope such a man hath the spirit of God.' But he tells me that there was a cruel article against Pen, after one fight, for cowardice, in putting himself within a coil of cables, of which he had much ado to acquit himself; and by great friends did it, not without remains of guilt, but that his brethren had a mind to pass it by, and Sir H. Vane did advise him to search his heart, and

see whether this fault or a greater sin was not the occasion of this so great trial. And he tells me that what Pen gives out about Cromwell's sending and entreating him to go to Jamaica is very false ; he knows the contrary : besides, the Protector never was a man that needed to send for any man, especially such a one as he, twice. He tells me that the business of Jamaica did miscarry absolutely by his pride, and that when he was in the Tower he would cry like a child. And that just upon the turn, when Monk was come from the North to the City, and did begin to think of bringing in the King, Pen was then turned Quaker. That Lawson was never counted anything but only a seaman and a stout man, but a false man, and that now he appears the greatest hypocrite in the world. And Pen the same. He tells me that it is much talked of that the King intends to legitimate the Duke of Monmouth ; and that neither he, nor his friends of his persuasion, have any hopes of getting their consciences at liberty but by God Almighty's turning of the King's heart, which they expect, and are resolved to live and die in quiet hopes of it, but never to repine, or act anything more than by prayers towards it.

And that not only himself, but all of them have, and are willing, at any time, to take the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. Mr. Blackburn observed further to me, some certain notice that he had of the present plot so much talked of, that he was told by Mr. Rushworth how one Captain Oates, a great discoverer, did employ several to bring and seduce others into a plot, and that one of his agents met with one that would not listen to him, nor conceal what he had offered him, but so detected the trepan. He did also much insist upon the cowardice and corruption of the King's guards and militia."

There was a little talk on the 11th with Dr. Allen about physic and chemistry; on the 15th the Tower guns were fired for the Queen's birthday, and the Lord Mayor went in the evening from church to church to see that there was a due supply of bonfires, "which methinks is a poor thing to be forced to be commanded."

On the 19th Pepys went on business to my Lord Treasurer, who was laid up with gout. "Nothing displeased me in him but his long nails, which he lets grow upon a pretty thick white short hand, that it troubled me to see them. In our way Sir



G. Carteret told me there is no such thing likely yet as a Dutch war, neither they nor we being in a condition for it, though it will come certainly to that in some time, our interests lying the same way, that is to say, in trade." On the 26th there is note of the plague growing at Amsterdam, and of the proposal to make all ships from Amsterdam or Hamburg perform thirty days' quarantine.

"To Paul's Churchyard, and there looked upon the second part of 'Hudibras,' which I buy not, but borrow to read, to see if it be as good as the first, which the world cried so mightily up, though it hath not a good liking in me, though I had tried but twice or three times reading to bring myself to think it witty. To-day, for certain, I am told how in Holland publicly they have pictured our King with reproach: one way is with his pockets turned the wrong side outward, hanging out empty; another with two courtiers picking of his pockets; and a third, leading of two ladies, while others abuse him; which amounts to great contempt."

"29th. (Lord's day.) This morning I put on my best black cloth suit, trimmed with scarlet ribbon, very neat, with my cloak lined with velvet, and a

new beaver, which altogether is very noble, with my black silk knit canons I bought a month ago."

On the 1st of December Pepys was aroused by the absurdities of a trial at King's Bench on a question of ship insurance.

On the 3rd of December Pepys was rejoiced to hear from Sir G. Carteret that the navy was out of debt. On the 7th, there was "the greatest tide that ever was remembered in England to have been in this river, all Whitehall having been drowned." On the 10th of December "to St. Paul's Churchyard, to my bookseller's, and, having gained this day in the office by my stationer's bill to the King about 40s. or £3, calling for twenty books to lay this money out upon, and found myself at a great loss where to choose, and do see how my nature would gladly return to the laying out of money in this trade. Could not tell whether to lay out my money for books of pleasure, as plays, which my nature was most earnest in; but at last, after seeing Chaucer, Dugdale's 'History of Paul's,' Stow's 'London,' Gesner, 'History of Trent,' besides Shakespeare, Jonson, and Beaumont's plays, I at last chose Dr. Fuller's 'Worthies,' 'The Cabbala,' or 'Collections of

Letters of State,' and a little book, 'Delices de Hollande,' with another little book or two, all of good use or serious pleasure ; and 'Hudibras,' both parts, the book now in greatest fashion for drollery, though I cannot, I confess, see enough where the wit lies. My mind being thus settled, I went by link home, and so to my office, and to read in 'Rushworth ;' and so home to supper and to bed. Calling at Wotton's, my shoemaker's, to-day, he tells me that Sir H. Wright is dying ; and that Harris is come to the Duke's house again ; and of a rare play to be acted this week of Sir William Davenant's ; the story of Henry the Eighth, with all his wives."

The next entries include much talk of the reported greatness of the King of France. On the 21st of December Pepys saw with disgust a cock-fight in Shoe Lane, and then went to Lord Sandwich's, where he heard rehearsal of an anthem made to be sung in the King's Chapel. On the 22nd of December Pepys heard that Lady Castlemaine had turned Papist. Also, he writes : "I heard to-day of a great fray lately between Sir H. Finch's coachman, who struck with his whip a coachman of the King's, to the loss of one of

his eyes; at which the people of the Exchange seeming to laugh and make sport, with some words of contempt to him, my Lord Chamberlain did come from the King to shut up the 'Change, and by the help of a justice did it; but upon petition to the King it was opened again." On the 28th of December Pepys saw the King play tennis, and then went to the Duke of Albemarle, "but I find him a heavy, dull man, methinks, by his answers to me." The last note of the year then follows:

"The Queen, after a long and sore sickness, is become well again; and the King minds his mistress a little too much. If it pleased God—but I hope all things will go well, and in the Navy particularly, wherein I shall do my duty whatever comes of it. The great talk is the design of the King of France, whether against the Pope or King of Spain nobody knows; but a great and a most promising Prince he is, and all the Princes of Europe have their eye upon him. My wife's brother come to great unhappiness by the ill disposition, my wife says, of his wife, and her poverty, which she now professes, after all her husband's pretence of a great portion. At present,

• I am concerned for my cousin Angier, of Cambridge, lately broke in his trade, and this day am sending his son John, a very rogue, to sea. My brother Tom I know not what to think of; for I cannot hear whether he minds his business or not; and my brother John at Cambridge, with as little hopes of doing good there; for when he was here he did give me great cause of dissatisfaction with his manner of life. Poll with my father; and God knows what she do there, or what will become of her, for I have not anything yet to spare her, and she grows now old, and must be disposed of one way or other. The Duchess of York is growing well again. The Turks very far entered into Germany, and all that part of the world at a loss what to expect from his proceedings. Myself, blessed be God! in a good way, and design and resolution of sticking to my business to get a little money with, doing the best service I can to the King also; which God continue! So ends the old year.” •

H. M.



## PEPYS'S DIARY.

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*January 1, 1663-64.*—At the Coffee-house, where much talking about a very rich widow, young and handsome, of one Sir Nicholas Gold's, a merchant, lately fallen, and of great courtiers that already look after her: her husband not dead a week yet. She is reckoned worth £80,000. Went to the Duke's house, the first play I have been at these six months, according to my last vow, and here saw the so much cried-up play of *Henry the Eighth*; which, though I went with resolution to like it, is so simple a thing, made up of a great many patches, that, besides the shows and processions in it, there is nothing in the world good or well done.

2nd. To the King's house, and saw *The Usurper*, which is no good play, though better than what I saw yesterday.

4th. I to my Lord Sandwich's lodgings, but he not being up, I to the Duke's chamber, and there by-and-by to his closet, where, since his lady was ill, a little red bed of velvet is brought for him to lie alone, which

is a very pretty one. After doing business here, I to my Lord's again, and there spoke with him, and he seems now almost friends again, as he used to be. Here meeting Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, he told me, among other court news, how the Queen is very well again; and that she speaks now very pretty English, and makes her sense out now and then with pretty phrases: as among others this is mightily cried up; that, meaning to say that she did not like such a horse as well as the rest, he being too prancing and full of tricks, she said he did make too much vanity. To the Tennis Court, and there saw the King play at tennis, and others: but to see how the King's play was extolled, without any cause at all, was a loathsome sight, though sometimes, indeed, he did play very well, and deserved to be commended: but such open flattery is beastly. Afterwards to St. James's Park, seeing people play at Pell Mell; where it pleased me mightily to hear a gallant, lately come from France, swear at one of his companions for suffering his man, a spruce blade, to be so saucy as to strike a ball while his master was playing on the Mall. My wife is mighty sad to think of her father, who is going into Germany against the Turks; but what will become of her brother I know not. He is so idle, and out of all capacity, I think, to earn his bread.

6th. (Twelfth day.) This morning I began a practice, which I find, by the ease I do it with, that I shall



continue, it saving me money and time; that is, to trim myself with a razor: which pleases me mightily.

7th. At noon, all of us to dinner to Sir W. Pen's, where a very handsome dinner, Sir J. Lawson among others, and his lady and his daughter; but to see how Sir W. Pen imitates me in everything, even in having his chimney-piece in his dining-room the same with that in my wife's closet, and in everything else I perceive wherein he can. But to see again how he was out in one compliment: he lets alone drinking any of the ladies' healths that were there, my Lady Batten and Lawson, till he had begun with my Lady Carteret, who was absent, and that was well enough, and then Mr. Coventry's mistress, at which he was ashamed, and would not have had him have drunk it, at least before the ladies present, but his policy, as he thought, was such, that he would do it.

8th. By appointment, took Luellin, Mount, and W. Symons, and Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, home to dinner with me, and were merry. We spent all the afternoon together, and then to cards with my wife, who this day put on her Indian blue gown, which is very pretty. We had great pleasure this afternoon, among other things, to talk of our old passages together in Cromwell's time; and how W. Symons did make me laugh and wonder to-day when he told me how he had made shift to keep in, in good esteem and employment, through eight governments in one year, the year 1659,

which were indeed, and he did name them all; and then failed unhappy in the ninth, viz., that of the King's coming in. He made good to me the story which Luellin did tell me the other day, of his wife upon her death-bed; how she dreamt of her uncle Scobell, and did foretell, from some discourse she had with him, that she should die four days thence, and not sooner, and did all along say so, and did so. Upon the 'Change, a great talk there was of one Mr. Tryon, an old man, a merchant in Lyme Street, robbed last night, his man and maid being gone out after he was a-bed; and gagged and robbed of £1,050 in money, and about £4,000 in jewels, which he had in his house as security for money. It is believed that his man is guilty of confederacy, by their ready going to his secret till in his desk, wherein the key of his cash-chest lay.

9th. By discourse with my wife, thought upon inviting my Lord Sandwich to a dinner shortly. It will cost me at least ten or twelve pounds; but, however, some arguments of prudence I have, which I shall think again upon before I proceed to that expense. Called at Ludgate, at Ashwell's uncle's, but she was not within, to have spoke to her to have come to dress my wife at the time when my Lord dines here.

10th. (Lord's day.) My brother Tom come to see me, telling me how Mrs. Turner found herself discontented with her late bad journey, and not well taken by them in the country, they not desiring her coming down, nor

the burial of Mr. Edward Pepys's corpse there. All our discourse to-night was about Mr. Tryon's late being robbed; and that Colonel Turner, a mad, swearing confident fellow, well known by all, and by me, one much indebted to this man for his very livelihood, was the man that either did or plotted it; and the money and things are found in his hand, and he and his wife now in Newgate for it: of which we are all glad, so very a known rogue he was.

11th. To the Tennis Court till noon, and there saw several great matches played. By invitation to St. James's; where, at Mr. Coventry's chamber, I dined with my Lord Barkeley, Sir G. Carteret, Sir Edward Turner, Sir Ellis Layton, and one Mr. Seymour, a fine gentleman: where admirable good discourse of all sorts, pleasant and serious. This morning I stood by the King, arguing with a pretty Quaker woman, that delivered to him a desire of hers in writing. The King showed her Sir J. Minnes, as a man the fittest for her quaking religion; she modestly saying nothing till he begun seriously to discourse with her, arguing the truth of his spirit against hers; she replying still with these words, "O King!" and thou'd all along. The general talk of the town still is of Colonel Turner, about the robbery, who, it is thought, will be hanged. I heard the Duke of York tell to-night, how letters are come that fifteen are condemned for the late plot by the judges at York; and among others, Captain Oates,

against whom it was proved, that he drew his sword at his going out, and flinging away the scabbard, said that he would either return victor or be hanged.

12th. Comes my uncle Wight and my aunt, with their cousins Mary and Robert, and by chance my uncle Thomas Pepys. We had a good dinner—the chief dish, a swan roasted, and that excellent meat.

15th. My wife tells me that my uncle Wight hath been with her, and played at cards with her, and is mightily inquisitive to know whether she is with child or no, which makes me wonder what his meaning is, and, after all my thoughts, I cannot think, unless it be in order to the making his will; and I would to God my wife had told him that she was!

17th. (Lord's day.) To the French church, and there heard a good sermon—the first time my wife and I were there ever together. We sat by three sisters, all pretty women. It was pleasant to hear the reader give notice to them, that the children to be catechised next Sunday were them of Houndsditch and Blanche Chapiton.

18th. Abroad to Whitehall, where the court all in mourning for the Duchess of Savoy. By coach to the 'Change, after having been at the coffee-house, where I hear Turner is found guilty of felony and burglary; and strange stories of his confidence at the bar, but yet great indiscretion in his arguing. All desirous of his being hanged.

• 19th. My eyes began to fail me, and to be in pain, which I never felt to nowadays.

• 20th. To my Lord Sandwich's, and I walked with him to the Tennis Court, and there left him, seeing the King play. My Lord Sandwich did also seal a lease for the house he is now taking in Lincoln's Inn Fields, which stands him in £250 per annum rent. To my brother's, whom I find not well in bed, sick, they say, of a consumption. To Mr. Commander's, in Warwick Lane, to speak to him about drawing up my will. Sir Richard Ford told me, that Turner is to be hanged to-morrow, and with what impudence he hath carried out his trial; but that last night, when he brought him news of his death, he began to be sober, and shed some tears, and he hopes will die a penitent; he having already confessed all the thing, but says it was partly done for a joke, and partly to get an occasion of obliging the old man by his care in getting him his things again, he having some hopes of being the better by him in his estate at his death. Mr. Pierce tells me, that my Lady Castlemaine is not at all set by, by the King, but that he doats upon Mrs. Stewart only, and, that, to the leaving of all business in the world, and to the open slighting of the Queen; that he values not who sees him, or stands by him while he dallies with her openly; and then privately in her chamber below, where the very sentries observe him going in and out; and that so commonly, that the Duke, or any of the

nobles, when they would ask where the King is, they would ordinarily say, "Is the King above or below?" meaning with Mrs. Stewart; that the King do not openly disown my Lady Castlemaine, but that she comes to Court; but that my Lord FitzHarding and the Hambletons, and sometimes my Lord Sandwich, they say, intrigue with her. But he says my Lord Sandwich will lead her from her lodgings in the darkest and obscurest manner, and leave her at the entrance into the Queen's lodgings, that he might be the least observed. That the Duke of Monmouth the King still doats on beyond measure, insomuch that the King only, the Duke of York, and Prince Rupert, and the Duke of Monmouth, do now wear deep mourning, that is, long cloaks, for the Duchess of Savoy; so that he mourns as a prince of the blood, while the Duke of York do no more, and all the nobles of the land not so much; which gives great offence. But that the Duke of York do give himself up to business, and is like to prove a noble prince; and so indeed I do from my heart think he will. He says that it is believed, as well as hoped, that care is taken to lay up a hidden treasure of money by the King against a bad day. I pray God it be so! but I should be more glad that the King himself would look after business, which it seems he does not in the least. I am resolved to forbear my laying out my money upon a dinner, till I see my Lord in a better posture, and by grave and humble

though high deportment, to make him think I do not want him, and that will make him the readier to admit me to his friendship again—I believe the soonest of anything but downright impudence, and thrusting myself, as others do, upon him, and imposing upon him, which yet I cannot do, nor will not endeavour. To bed, after I had by candle-light shaved myself and cut off all my beard.

21st. Up, and after sending my wife to my aunt Wight's, to get a place to see Turner hanged, I to the 'Change; and seeing people flock in the City, I inquired, and found that Turner was not yet hanged. So I went among them to Leadenhall Street, at the end of Lyme Street, near where the robbery was done; and to St. Mary Axe, where he lived. And there I got for a shilling to stand upon the wheel of a cart, in great pain, above an hour before the execution was done; he delaying the time by long discourses and prayers, one after another, in hopes of a reprieve; but none came, and at last he was flung off the ladder in his cloak. A comely-looking man he was, and kept his countenance to the end; I was sorry to see him. It was believed there were at least 12,000 or 14,000 people in the street. To the coffee-house, and heard the full of Turner's discourse on the cart, which was chiefly to clear himself of all things laid to his charge but this fault, for which he now suffers, which he confesses. He deplored the condition of his family, but

his chief design was to lengthen time, believing still a reprieve would come, though the sheriff advised him to expect no such thing, for the King was resolved to grant none. To my aunt Wight's, where Dr. Burnett did tell me how poorly the sheriffs did endeavour to get one jewel returned by Turner, after he was convicted, as a due to them, and not to give it to Mr. Tryon, the true owner, but ruled against them, to their great dishonour.

22nd. To Deptford, and there viewed Sir W. Petty's vessel ; which hath an odd appearance, but not such as people do make of it.

24th. (Lord's day.) To my office, and there fell on entering, out of a bye-book, part of my second journal-book, which hath lain these two years and more unentered. This evening also I drew up a rough draft of my last will.

25th. Troubled a little in mind, to think that my Lord Sandwich should continue this strangeness to me.

26th. Tom Killigrew told us of a fire last night in my Lady Castlemaine's lodging, where she bid £40 for one to adventure the fetching of a cabinet out, which at last was got to be done ; and the fire at last quenched, without doing much wrong.

27th. At the coffee-house, where I sat with Sir G. Ascue, and Sir William Petty, who in discourse is, methinks, one of the most rational men that ever I heard



• speak with a tongue, having all his notions the most distinct and clear, and did, among other things (saying, that in all his life these three books were the most esteemed and generally cried up for wit in the world—"Religio Medici," "Osborne's Advice to a Son," and "Hudibras"), say that in these—the two first principally—the wit lies, and confirming some pretty sayings, which are generally like paradoxes, by some argument smartly and pleasantly urged, which takes with people who do not trouble themselves to examine the force of an argument, which pleases them in the delivery, upon a subject which they like; whereas, as by many particular instances of mine, and others, out of Osborne, he did really find fault and weaken the strength of many of Osborne's arguments, so as that in downright disputation they would not bear weight—at least, so far but that they might be weakened, and better found in their rooms to confirm what is there said. He showed finely whence it happens that good writers are not admired by the present age; because there are but few in any age that do mind anything that is abstruse and curious; and so longer before anybody do put the true praise, and set it on foot in the world, the generality of mankind pleasing themselves in the easy delights of the world, as, eating, drinking, dancing, hunting, fencing, which we see the meanest men do the best—those that profess it. A gentleman never dances so well as the dancing-master;

and an ordinary fiddler makes better music for a shilling, than a gentleman will do after spending forty. And so in all the delights of the world almost. To Covent Garden, to buy a mask at the French house, Madam Charett's, for my wife; in the way observing the street full of coaches at the new play, at *The Indian Queen*, which for show, they say, exceeds *Henry the Eighth*. Called to see my brother Tom, who was not at home, though they say he is in a deep consumption and will not live two months.

29th. To the "Fleece" in Cornhill by appointment, to meet my Lord Marlborough, a serious and worthy gentleman, who began to talk of the state of the Dutch in India, which is like to be in a little time without any control; for we are lost there, and the Portuguese as bad.

30th. The day kept solemnly for the King's murder. In the evening signed and sealed my last will and testament, which is to my mind, and I hope to the liking of God Almighty. This evening I tore some old papers; among others, a romance, which under the title of *Love & Cheat*, I begun ten years ago at Cambridge; and, reading it over to-night I liked it very well, and wondered a little at myself, at my vein at that time when I wrote it, doubting that I cannot do so well now if I would try.

31st. (Lord's day.) I did perfectly prepare a state of my estate, and annexed it to my last will and

testament, which now is perfect, and find that I am worth £858 clear, which is the greatest sum I ever yet was master of. My head very full of thoughts to provide for answering to the Exchequer for my uncle's being General Receiver in the year 1647, which I am at present wholly unable to do.

*February* 1. I hear how two men last night, justling for the wall about the new Exchange, did kill one another, each thrusting the other through: one of them of the King's Chapel, one Cave, and the other a retainer of my Lord General Middleton's. I to Whitehall; where, in the Duke's chamber, the King came and stayed an hour or two laughing at Sir W. Petty, who was there, about his boat; and at Gresham College in general: at which poor Petty was, I perceive, at some loss; but did argue discreetly and bear the unreasonable follies of the King's objections and other bystanders with great discretion; and offered to take odds against the King's best boats: but the King would not lay, but cried him down with words only. Gresham College he mightily laughed at, for spending time only in weighing of air, and doing nothing else since they sat. Mr. Pierce tells me how the King, coming the other day to his theatre to see *The Indian Queen*, which he commends for a very fine thing, my Lady Castlemaine was in the next box before he came; and leaning over other ladies a while to whisper with the King, she rose out of the box and went into the King's,

and set herself on the King's right hand, between the King and the Duke of York; which, he swears, put the King himself, as well as everybody else, out of countenance: and believes that she did it only to show the world that she is not out of favour yet, as was believed. To the King's Theatre, and there saw *The Indian Queen* acted; which, indeed, is a most pleasant show, and beyond my expectation; the play good, but spoiled with the rhyme, which breaks the sense. But above my expectation most, the eldest Marshall did do her part most excellently well as I ever heard woman in my life; but her voice is not so sweet as Ianthe's; but, however, we came home mightily contented. Here we met Mr. Pickering; and he tells me that the business runs high between the Chancellor and my Lord Bristol against the Parliament; and that my Lord Lauderdale and Cowper open high against the Chancellor; which I am sorry for. This day, W. Bowyer told me, that his father is dead lately, and died by being drowned in the river, coming over in the night; but he says he had not been drinking. He was taken with his stick in his hand, and cloak over his shoulder, as ruddy as before he died. His horse was taken overnight in the water, hampered in the bridle, but they were so silly as not to look for his master till the next morning that he was found drowned.

2nd. To the 'Change, and thence off to the "Sun" Tavern with Sir W. Warren. He did give me a pair

of gloves for my wife wrapped up in a paper, which I would not open, feeling it hard; but did tell him that my wife should thank him, and so went on in discourse. When I came home, Lord! in what pain I was to get my wife out of the room without bidding her go, that I might see what these gloves were; and, by-and-by, she being gone, it proves a pair of white gloves for her, and forty pieces in good gold, which did so cheer my heart, that I could eat no victuals almost for dinner. I was at a great loss what to do, whether to tell my wife of it or no, for fear of making her think me to be in a better condition, or in a better way of getting money, than yet I am.

3rd. To the "Mitre" Tavern, and there met with W. Howe come to buy wine for my Lord against his going down to Hinchinbroke, and I private with him a great while, discoursing of my Lord's strangeness to me; but he answers that I have no reason to think any such thing, but that my Lord is only in general a more reserved man than he was before. My wife is full of sad stories of her good-natured father, and roguish brother, who is going for Holland, and his wife, to be a soldier. In Covent Garden to-night, going to fetch home my wife, I stopped at the great coffee-house there, where I never was before: where Dryden, the poet, I knew at Cambridge, and all the wits of the town, and Harris the player, and Mr. Hoole of our College. And, had I had time then, or could at other times, it will be good

coming thither, for there, I perceive, is very witty and pleasant discourse. But I could not tarry, and, as it was late, they were all ready to go away.

4th. To Paul's School, and up to hear the upper form examined; and there was kept by very many of the Mercers, Clutterbuck, Barker, Harrington, and others; and with great respect used by them all, and had a noble dinner. Here they tell me that in Dr. Colett's will, he says that he would have a master found for the school that hath good skill in Latin, and if it could be, one that had some knowledge of the Greek; so little was Greek known here at that time. Dr. Wilkins, and one Mr. Smallwood, posers.

5th. Reading *Fuber Fortunæ*, which I can never read too often. At home to look after some Brampton papers, and my uncle's accounts as General-Receiver of the county for 1647 of our monthly assessment, which, contrary to my expectation, I found in such good order that I did not expect, nor could have thought.

6th. Homfê, whither come one Father Fogourdy, an Irish priest, of my wife's and her mother's acquaintance in France—a sober and discreet person, but one that I would not have converse with my wife for fear of meddling with her religion. He confirms to me the news that for certain there is a peace made between the Pope and King of France.

7th. (Lord's day.) Up and to church, and thence home; and with great mirth read Sir W. Davenant's

two speeches in dispraise of London and Paris, by way of reproach one to the other.

8th. Mr. Pierce told me how the King do still doat upon his women, even beyond all shame: and that the good Queen will of herself stop before she goes sometimes into her dressing-room, till she knows whether the King be there, for fear he should be, as she hath sometimes taken him, with Mrs. Stewart; and that some of the best parts of the Queen's jointure are, contrary to faith and against the opinion of my Lord Treasurer and his council, bestowed or rented, I know not how, to my Lord FitzHarding and Mrs. Stewart, and others of that crew: that the King do doat infinitely upon the Duke of Monmouth, apparently as one that he intends to have succeed him. God knows what will be the end of it!

9th. Great talk of the Dutch proclaiming themselves, in India, Lords of the Southern Seas, and denying traffic there to all ships but their own, upon pain of confiscation; which makes our merchants mad. Great doubt of two ships of ours, the *Greyhound* and another, very rich, coming from the Straits, for fear of the Turks. Matters are made up between the Pope and the King of France, so that now all the doubt is, what the French will do with their armies. Mr. Moore told me that my Lord is mightily altered—that is, grown very high and stately, and does not admit of any to come into his chamber to him, as heretofore, and

that I must not think of his strangeness to me, for it is the same he does to everybody. I discoursed with him about my money that my Lord hath, and the £1,000 that I stand bound with him in, to my cousin Thomas Pepys, in both which I shall get myself at liberty as soon as I can; for I do not like his being angry and in debt both together to me; and, besides, I do not perceive he looks after paying his debts, but runs farther and farther in.

10th. By coach to my Lord Sandwich, to his new house, a fine house, but deadly dear, in Lincoln's Inn Fields, where I found and spoke a little to him. He is high and strange still, but did ask me how my wife did, and at parting remembering him to his cousin. My wife abroad to buy Lent provisions. I did give my wife's brother 10s. and a coat that I had by me, a close-bodied, light-coloured coat, with a gold edging in each seam, that was the lace of my wife's best petticoat, that she had when I married her. He is going into Holland to seek his fortune. My pain do leave me without coming to any great excess; but my cold that I had got I suppose was not very great, it being only the leaving of my waistcoat unbuttoned one morning.

11th. Mr. Falconer come and visited my wife, and brought her a present—a silver state-cup and cover, value about three or four pounds, for the courtesy I did him the other day. I am almost sorry for this present,



because I would have reserved him for a place to go in summer a-visiting at Woolwich with my wife.

12th. Called at Alderman Backwell's, and there changed Mr. Falconer's state-cup, that he did give us the other day, for a fair tankard. The cup weighed with the fashion £5 16s., and another little cup that Joyce Norton did give us 17s.—both £6 13s.; for which we had a tankard, which came to £6 10s. at 5s. 7d. per oz., and 3s. in money.

13th. To the African House. Anon down to dinner, to a table which Mr. Coventry keeps here, out of his £300 per annum as one of the assistants to the Royal Company: a very pretty dinner, and good company, and excellent discourse. Home with my wife, and saw her day's work in ripping the silk standard, which we brought home last night, and it will serve to line a bed or for twenty uses, to our great content.

14th. (Lord's day.) Up, and to church alone, where a lazy sermon of Mr. Mills, upon a text to introduce catechising in our parish, which I perceive he intends to begin.

15th. To Whitehall, to the Duke; where he first put on a periwig to-day: but methought his hair cut short in order thereto did look very pretty of itself, before he put on his periwig. Great news of the arrival of two rich ships, the *Greyhound* and another, which they were mightily afraid of, and great insurance given. This afternoon Sir Thomas Chamberlain came to the

office to me, and showed me several letters from the East Indies, showing the height that the Dutch are come to there, showing scorn to all the English, even in our only factory there of Surat, beating several men, and hanging the English standard St. George under the Dutch flag in scorn; saying that, whatever their masters do or say at home, they will do what they list, and be masters of all the world there; and have so proclaimed themselves sovereigns of all the South Seas: which certainly our King cannot endure, if the Parliament will give him money. But I doubt, and yet do hope, they will not yet, till we are more ready for it.

17th. With my wife, setting her down by her father's in Long Acre, in so ill-looking a place that I was troubled at it, to see her go thither. Mr. Pierce tells me of the King's giving of my Lord FitzHarding two leases which belong indeed to the Queen, worth £20,000 to him; and how people do talk of it! Home, and dined, where I found an excellent mastiff—his name Powser—sent me by a surgeon.

19th. Mr. Cutler came, and walked and talked with me a great while; and then to the 'Change together; and it being early, did tell me several excellent examples of men raised upon the 'Change by their great diligence and saving; as also his own fortune, and how credit grew upon him; that when he was not really worth £1,100, he had credit for £100,000; of Sir W. Rider, how he rose; and others. By-and-by joined

with us Sir John Bankes, who told us several passages of the East India Company; and how, in every case, when there was due to him and Alderman Mico £64,000 from the Dutch for injury done to them in the East Indies, Oliver, presently after the peace, they delaying to pay them the money, sent them word, that if they did not pay them by such a day, he would grant letters of mark to those merchants against them; by which they were so fearful of him, they did presently pay the money every farthing. Took my wife, and, taking a coach, went to visit my Ladies Jemimah and Paulina Montagu, and Mrs. Elizabeth Pickering, whom we find at their father's new house in Lincoln's Inn Fields; but the house all in dirt. They received us well enough; but I did not endeavour to carry myself over-familiarly with them: and so, after a little stay, there coming in presently after us my Lady Aberguenny and other ladies, we back again by coach.

21st. (Lord's day.) My wife called up the people to washing by four o'clock in the morning; and our little girl Susan is a most admirable slut, and pleases us mightily, doing more service than both the others, and deserves wages better.

22nd. This evening came Mr. Alsopp, the King's brewer, with whom I spent an hour talking and bewailing the posture of things at present; the King led away by half a dozen men, that none of his serious servants and friends can come at him. These are

Lauderdale, Buckingham, Hamilton, FitzHarding, to whom he hath, it seems, given £12,000 per annum in the best part of the King's estate; and that the old Duke of Buckingham could never get of the King. Progers is another, and Sir H. Bennet. He loves not the Queen at all, but is rather sullen to her; and she, by all reports, incapable of children. He is so fond of the Duke of Monmouth, that everybody admires it; and he says that the Duke hath said, that he would be the death of any man that says the King was not married to his mother: though Alsopp says, it is well known that she was a common strumpet before the King was acquainted with her. But it seems, he says, that the King is mighty kind to these his bastard children; and at this day will go at midnight to my Lady Castlemaine's nurses, and take the child and dance it in his arms: that he is not likely to have his tables up again in his house, for the crew that are about him will not have him come to common view again, but keep him obscurely among themselves. He hath this night, it seems, ordered that the Hall, which there is, a ball to be in to-night before the King, be guarded, as the Queen Mother's is, by his Horse Guards; whereas heretofore they were by the Lord Chamberlain or Steward, and their people. But it is feared they will reduce all to the soldiery, and all other places be taken away; and, what is worst of all, will alter the present militia, and bring all to a flying

army. That my Lord Lauderdale, being Middleton's enemy, and one that scorns the Chancellor, even to open affronts before the King, hath got the whole power of Scotland into his hand; whereas, the other day, he was in a fair way to have had his whole estate and honour, and life, voted away from him. That the King hath done himself all imaginable wrong in the business of my Lord Antrim, in Ireland; who, though he was the head of rebels, yet he by his letter owns to have acted by his father's and mother's, and his commissions; but it seems the truth is, he hath obliged himself, upon the clearing of his estate, to settle it upon a daughter of the Queen mother's, by my Lord Jermyn, I suppose, in marriage, be it to whom the Queen pleases; which is a sad story. It seems a daughter of the Duke of Lennox's was, by force, going to be married the other day, at Somerset House, to Harry Jermyn; but she got away and run to the King, and he says he will protect her. She is, it seems, very near akin to the King. Such mad doings there are every day among them! There was a French book in verse, the other day, translated and presented to the Duke of Monmouth, in such a high style, that the Duke of York, he tells me, was mightily offended at it. The Duke of Monmouth's mother's brother hath a place at Court, and, being a Welshman, I think, he told me will talk very broad of the King's being married to his sister. The King did the other day, at

the Council, commit my Lord Bristol's chaplain and steward, and another servant, who went upon the process begun there against their lord, to swear that they saw him at church, and receive the Sacrament as a Protestant, which, the Judges said, was sufficient to prove him such in the eye of the law; the King, I say, did commit them all to the Gate-house, notwithstanding their pleading their dependence upon him, and the faith they owed him as their lord, whose bread they eat. And that the King should say, that he would soon see whether he was King, or Bristol. That the Queen Mother hath outrun herself in her expenses, and is now come to pay very ill, or run in debt; the money being spent that she received for leases. He believes there is not any money laid up in bank, as I told him some did hope; but he says, from the best informers, he can assure me there is no such thing, nor anybody that should look after such a thing, and that there is not now above £80,000 of the Dunkirk money left in stock. That Oliver, the year when he spent £1,400,000 in the Navy, did spend in the whole expense of the kingdom £2,600,000. That all the Court are mad for a Dutch war; but both he and I did concur, that it was a thing rather to be dreaded than hoped for; unless, by the French King's falling upon Flanders, they and the Dutch should be divided. That our Ambassador had, it is true, an audience; but in the most dishonourable way that could be; for the princes of the blood,

though invited by our Ambassador, which was the greatest absurdity that ever Ambassador committed these 400 years, were not there; and so were not said to give place to our King's Ambassador. And that our King did openly say, the other day in the Privy Chamber, that he would not be hectored out of his right and pre-eminences by the King of France, as great as he was. That the Pope is glad to yield to a peace with the French, as the news-book says, upon the basest terms that ever was. That the talk which these people about our King, that I named before, have, is to tell him how neither privilege of Parliament nor City is anything; but that his will is all, and ought to be so; and their discourse, it seems, when they are alone, is so base and sordid, that it makes the ears of the very gentlemen of the back stairs, I think he called them, to tingle to hear it spoke in the King's hearing; and that must be very bad indeed. That my Lord Bristol did send to Lisbon a couple of priests, to search out what they could against the Chancellor concerning the match, as to the point of his knowing beforehand that the Queen was not capable of hearing children; and that something was given her to make her so. But, private as they were, when they came thither, they were clapped up prisoners. That my Lord Bristol endeavours what he can to bring the business into the House of Commons, hoping there to master the Chancellor, there being many enemies of his

there; but I hope the contrary. That whereas the late King did mortgage Clarendon to somebody for £20,000, and this King have given it to the Duke of Albemarle, and he sold it to my Lord Chancellor, whose title of Earldom is fetched from thence; the King hath this day sent his order to the Privy Seal for the payment of this £20,000 to my Lord Chancellor, to clear the mortgage. Ireland in a very distracted condition about the hard usage which the Protestants meet with, and the too good which the Catholics. And from all together, God knows my heart, I expect nothing but ruin can follow, unless things are better ordered in a little time.

23rd. (Shrove Tuesday.) This day, by the blessing of God, I have lived thirty-one years in the world; and, by the grace of God, I find myself not only in good health in everything, and particularly as to the stone, but only pain upon taking cold, and also in a fair way of coming to a better esteem and estate in the world than ever I expected. But I pray God give me a heart to fear a fall, and to prepare for it!

24th. (Ash Wednesday.) To the Queen's chapel, where I stayed and saw their mass, till a man came and bid me go out or kneel down: so I did go out. And thence to Somerset House; and there into the chapel, where Monsieur d'Espagne used to preach. But now it is made very fine, and was ten times more crowded than the Queen's chapel at St. James's;



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which I wonder at. Thence down to the garden of Somerset House, and up and down the new building, which, in every respect, will be mighty magnificent and costly.

25th. To my Lord's, and saw the young ladies, and thence to Whitehall. Resolved of going to meet my Lord to-morrow, having got a horse of Mr. Coventry to-day.

26th. Up, and after dressing myself handsomely for riding, I out, and by water to Westminster, to Mr. Creed's chamber, and, after drinking some chocolate, and playing on the viol, Mr. Mallard being there, upon Creed's new viol, which proves, methinks, much worse than mine, we set out from an inn hard by, whither Mr. Coventry's horse was carried; and round about the bush through bad ways to Highgate. Good discourse had in the way between us; and, it being a most admirable pleasant day, stopped at the Cock, a mile on this side Barnet, being unwilling to put ourselves to the charge or doubtful acceptance of any provision against my Lord's coming by, and there got something and dined, setting a boy to look towards Barnet Hill, against their coming; and, after two or three false alarms, they came, and we met the coach very gracefully, and I had as kind a reception from both Lord and Lady as I could wish, and some kind discourse, and then rode by the coach a good way, and so fell to discoursing with several of the people, there

being a dozen attending the coach, and another coach for the maids and parson. But, when we came to my Lord's house, I went in; and, whether it was my Lord's neglect, or general indifference, I know not, but he made no kind of compliment there; and, methinks, the young ladies look somewhat highly upon me. So I went away, without bidding adieu to anybody, being desirous not to be thought too servile.

27th. Sir Martin Noell told us the dispute between him, as farmer of the additional duty, and the East India Company, whether calico be linen or no; which he says it is, having been ever esteemed so; they say it is made of cotton-wool, and grows upon trees, not like flax or hemp. But it was carried against the Company, though they stand out against the verdict.

28th. (Lord's day.) Up, and walked to Paul's; and, by chance, it was an extraordinary day for the Readers of the Inns of Court and all the students to come to church, it being an old ceremony not used these twenty-five years, upon the first Sunday in Lent. Abundance there was of students, more than there was room to seat but upon forms, and the church mighty full. One Hawkins preached, an Oxford man. A good sermon, upon these words: "But the Wisdom from above is first pure, then peaceable." Both before and after sermon I was most impatiently troubled at the choir, the worst that ever I heard. But what was extraordinary, the bishop of London, who sat there in a

pew, made a purpose for him, by the pulpit, do give the last blessing to the congregation: which was, he being a comely old man, a very decent thing methought. The lieutenant of the Tower, Sir J. Robinson, would needs have me by coach home with him, where the officers of his regiment dined with him. I did go and dine with him—his ordinary table being very good, and his lady a very high carriaged, but comely big woman; I was mightily pleased with her. After dinner to chapel in the Tower with the lieutenant, with the keys carried before us, and the warders and gentleman-porter going before us; and I sat with the lieutenant in his pew in great state. None, it seems, of the prisoners in the Tower, that are there now, though they may, will come to prayers there.

29th. To Sir Philip Warwick, who showed me many excellent collections of the state of the revenue in former kings and the late times and the present. He showed me how the very assessments between 1643 and 1659, which were taxes, besides excise, customs, sequestrations, decimations, King and Queen's and Church lands, or anything else but just the assessments, come to above fifteen millions. He showed me a discourse of his concerning the revenues of this and foreign states. How that of Spain was great, but divided with his kingdoms, and so come to little. How that of France did, and do much, exceed ours before for quantity; and that it is at the will of the

prince to tax what he will upon his people; which is not here. That the Hollanders have the best manner of tax, which is only upon the expense of provisions, by an excise; and do conclude that no other tax is proper for England but a pound-rate, or excise upon the expense of provisions. He showed me every particular sort of payment away of money, since the King's coming in, to this day; and told me from one to one, how little he hath received of profit from most of them; and I believe him truly. That the £1,200,000 which the parliament with so much ado did first vote to the King, and since hath been re-examined by several committees of the present parliament, is yet above £300,000 short of making up really to the King the £1,200,000, as by particulars he showed me. And in my Lord Treasurer's excellent letter to the King upon this subject, he tells the King how it was the spending more than the revenue that did give the first occasion of his father's ruin, and did since to the rebels; who, he says, just like Henry the Eighth, had great and sudden increase of wealth, but yet, by overspending both died poor; and further tells the King how much of this £1,200,000 depends upon the life of the Prince, and so must be renewed by parliament again to his successor; which is seldom done without parting with some of the prerogatives of the crown; or, if denied, and he persists to take it of the people, it gives occasion to a civil war, which did in the late business of tonnage

and poundage prove fatal to the Crown. He showed me how many ways the Lord Treasurer did take before he moved the King to farm the customs in the manner he does, and the reasons that moved him to do it. He showed me a very excellent argument, to prove that our importing less than we export, does not impoverish the kingdom, according to the received opinion: which, though it be a paradox, and that I do not remember the argument, yet methought there was a great deal in what he said. And, upon the whole, I find him a most exact and methodical man, and of great industry: and very glad that he thought fit to show me all this; though I cannot easily guess the reason why he should do it to me, unless from the plainness that he sees I use to him in telling him how much the King may suffer for our want of understanding the case of our Treasury. To make up my monthly accounts; and I find myself worth eight hundred and ninety and odd pounds, the greatest sum I ever yet knew. Calling at St. Paul's Churchyard, looked upon a pretty burlesque poem, called "Scarronides; or, Virgile Travesty;" extraordinary good. After dinner, my wife cut my hair short, which is grown pretty long again.

*March 2.* This morning, Mr. Burgby, one of the writing clerks belonging to the Council, a knowing man, complains to me how most of the Lords of the Council do look after themselves and their own ends, and none the public, unless Sir Edward Nicholas.

Sir G. Carteret is diligent, but for all his own ends and profit. My Lord Privy Seal, a destroyer of everybody's business, and does no good at all to the public. The Archbishop of Canterbury speaks very little, nor does much, being now come to the highest pitch that he can expect. He tells me, he believes that things will go very high against the Chancellor, by Bristol, and that bad things will be proved. Talks much of his neglecting the King; and making the King to trot every day to him, when he is well enough to go to visit his cousin, Chief-Justice Hyde, but not to the Council or King. He commends my Lord of Ormond mightily in Ireland; but cries out cruelly of Sir G. Lane, for his corruption; and that he hath done my Lord great dishonour, by selling of places here, which are now all taken away, and the poor wretches ready to starve. But nobody almost understands or judges of business better than the King, if he would not be guilty of his father's fault to be doubtful of himself, and easily be removed from his own opinion. That my Lord Lauderdale is never from the King's ear nor Council, and that he is a most cunning fellow. Upon the whole, that he finds things go very bad everywhere; and even in the Council nobody minds the public. To my Lord Sandwich, with whom I spoke, walking a good while with him in his garden, which, and the house, is very fine.

4th. There are several people trying a new-fashion gun brought my Lord Peterborough this morning, to

shoot off often, one after another, without trouble or danger. At Greenwich I observed the foundation-laying of a very great house for the King, which will cost a great deal of money. To Whitehall: and there being met by the Duke of York, he called me to him. I never had so much discourse with him before, and till now did ever fear to meet him. Home, my mind in great ease, to think of our coming to so good a respect with my Lord again, and my Lady, and that my Lady do so much cry up my father's usage of her children, and the goodness of the air there, found in the young ladies' faces at their return thence.

5th. To the office, where, though I had a great cold, I was forced to speak much upon a public meeting of the East India Company, at our office; where was also my Lord George Barkeley, in behalf of the company of merchants; I suppose he is on that company, who hearing my name, took notice of me, and condoled my cousin Edward Pepys's death, not knowing whose son I was, nor did demand it of me.

7th. My wife and I by coach to the Duke's house, where we saw *The Unfortunate Lovers*; but I know not whether I am grown more curious than I was or no, but I was not pleased with it, though I know not where to lay the fault, unless it was that the house was very empty, by reason of a new play at the other house. Yet here was my Lady Castlemaine in a box, and it was pleasant to hear an ordinary lady hard by

us, that it seems did not know her before, say, being told who she was, that "she was well enough."

8th. Luellin came and dined with me, but we made no long stay at dinner: *Heraclius* being acted, my wife and I have a mighty mind to see it. The play hath one very good passage well managed in it, about two persons pretending, and yet denying themselves to be son to the tyrant Phocas, and yet heir of Maronicius to the crown. The garments like Romans very well. The little girl is come to act very prettily, and spoke the epilogue most admirably. But, at the beginning, at the drawing up of the curtain, there was the finest scene of the Emperor, and his people about him, standing in their fixed and different postures in their Roman habits, above all that I ever saw at any of the theatres. Walked home, calling to see my brother Tom, who is in bed, and I doubt very ill.

10th. To dinner with my wife, to a good hog's harslet, a piece of meat I love, but have not eat of I think these seven years. At the Privy Seal I inquired, and found the bill come for the Corporation of the Royal Fishery; whereof the Duke of York is made present Governor, and several other very great persons to the number of thirty-two, made his assistants for their lives; whereof, by my Lord Sandwich's favour, I am one; and take it not only a matter of honour, but that, that may come to be of profit to me.

14th. To Whitehall; and in the Duke's chamber,



• while he was dressing, two persons of quality that were there did tell his Royal Highness, how, the other night, in Holborn, about midnight, being at cards, a link-boy came by and run into the house, and told the people the house was a-falling. Upon this the whole family was frightened, concluding that the boy had said that the house was a-fire; so they left their cards above, and one would have got out of the balcony, but it was not open; the other went up to fetch down his children that were in bed: so all got clear out of the house. And no sooner so, but the house fell down indeed, from top to bottom. It seems my Lord Southampton's canal did come too near their foundation, and so weakened the house, and down it came; which, in every respect, is a most extraordinary passage. To my brother's. The doctors give him over, and so do all that see him. He talks no sense two words together now; and I confess it made me weep to see that he should not be able, when I asked him, to say who I was. The business between my Lords Chancellor and Bristol, they say, is hushed up; and the latter gone, or going, by the King's licence, to France.

15th. My poor brother Tom died. I left my wife to see him laid out, and I by coach home, carrying my brother's papers, all I could find, with me.

16th. Up, and down to my cousin Stradwick's, and uncle Fenner's, about discoursing for the funeral, which I am resolved to put off till Friday next. Then

back again to my brother's to look after things, and saw the coffin brought; and by and by Mrs. Holden came and saw him nailed up. This day the Parliament met again, after long prorogation, but what they have done I have not been in the way to hear.

17th. To the office, where we sat this afternoon, because of the Parliament which returned yesterday; but was adjourned till Monday next, upon pretence that many of the members were said to be upon the road; and also the King had other affairs, and so desired them to adjourn till then. But the truth is, the King is offended at my Lord of Bristol, as they say, whom he hath found to have been all this while pretending a desire of leave to go into France, and to have all the differences between him and the Chancellor made up, endeavouring to make factions in both Houses to the Chancellor. So the King did this to keep the Houses from meeting; and in the meanwhile sent a guard and a herald last night to have taken him at Wimbledon, where he was in the morning, but could not find him: at which the King was and is still mightily concerned, and runs up and down to and from the Chancellor's like a boy; and it seems would make Bristol's articles against the Chancellor to be treasonable reflections against his Majesty. So that the King is very high, as they say: and God knows what will follow upon it! To my brother's again, preparing things against to-morrow; and I have altered my

resolution of burying him in the churchyard among my young brothers and sisters, and bury him in the church, in the middle aisle, as near as I can to my mother's pew. This cost me 20s. more. Home by coach, bringing my brother's silver tankard, for safety, along with me.

18th. Up betimes, and walked to my brother's, where a great while putting things in order against anon; and so to Wotton, my shoemaker, and there got a pair of shoes blacked on the soles against anon for me: so to my brother's. To church, and, with the grave-maker, chose a place for my brother to lie in, just under my mother's pew. But to see how a man's tombs are at the mercy of such a fellow, that for sixpence he would, as his own words were, "I will jostle them together, but I will make room for him," speaking of the fulness of the middle aisle where he was to lie; and that he would, for my father's sake, do my brother that is dead all the civility he can; which was to disturb other corpses that are not quite rotten to make room for him; and methought his manner of speaking it was very remarkable: as of a thing that now was in his power to do a man a courtesy or not. I dressed myself, and so did my servant Bessie; and so to my brother's again: whither, though invited, as the custom is, at one or two o'clock, they came not till four or five. But, at last, one after another, they came. many more than I bid; and my reckoning that I bid

was one hundred and twenty; but I believe there was nearer one hundred and fifty. Their service was six biscuits a-piece, and what they pleased of burnt claret. My cousin Joyce Norton kept the wine and cakes above; and did give out to them that served, who had white gloves given them. But, above all, I am beholden to Mrs. Holden, who was most kind, and did take mighty pains not only in getting the house and everything else ready, but this day in going up and down to see the house filled and served, in order to mine and their great content, I think: the men sitting by themselves in some rooms, and the women by themselves in others, very close, but yet room enough. Anon to church, walking out into the street to the conduit, and so across the street, and had a very good company along with the corpse. And being come to the grave as above, Dr. Pierson, the minister of the parish, did read the service for burial: and so I saw my poor brother laid into the grave: and so all broke up, and I and my wife, and Madam Turner and her family to her brother's, and by-and-by fell to a barrel of oysters, cake, and cheese of Mr. Honiwood's, with him in his chamber and below, being too merry for so late a sad work. But, Lord! to see how the world makes nothing of the memory of a man an hour after he is dead! And, indeed, I must blame myself; for, though at the sight of him dead and dying, I had real grief for a while, while he was in my sight, yet

presently after, and ever since, I have had very little grief indeed for him.

19th. My wife and I alone, having a good hen, with eggs, to dinner, with great content. Then to my brother's, where I spent the afternoon in paying some of the charges of the burial.

21st. This day the Houses of Parliament met; and the King met them, with the Queen with him. And he made a speech to them: among other things, discoursing largely of the plots abroad against him and the peace of the kingdom; and that the dissatisfied party had great hopes upon the effect of the Act for a Triennial Parliament granted by his father, which he desired them to peruse, and, I think, repeal. So the Houses did retire to their own House, and did order the Act to be read to-morrow before them; and I suppose it will be repealed, though I believe much against the will of a good many that sit there.

23rd. To the Trinity House, and there dined very well: and good discourse among the old men. Among other things, they observed, that there are but two seamen in the Parliament, viz., Sir W. Batten, and Sir W. Pen, and not above twenty or thirty merchants, which is a strange thing in an island. In the evening, my Lady Jemima, Paulina, and Madame Pickering came to see us, but my wife would not be seen, being unready. Very merry with them; they mightily talking of their thrifty living for a fortnight before their

mother came to town, and other such simple talk, and of their merry life at Brampton, at my father's this winter.

25th. To Whitehall, and there to chapel, where it was most infinitely full, to hear Dr. Critton. Being not known, some great persons in the pew I pretended to, and went in, did question my coming in. I told them my pretence: so they turned to the orders of the chapel, which hung behind upon the wall, and read it, and were satisfied; but they did not demand whether I was in waiting or no; and so I was in some fear lest he that was in waiting might come and betray me. The Doctor preached upon the 31st chapter of Jeremiah, and the 21st and 22nd verses, about a woman compassing a man; meaning the Virgin conceiving and bearing our Saviour. It was the worst sermon I ever heard him make, I must confess; and yet it was good, and in two places very bitter, advising the King to do as the Emperor Severus did, to hang up a Presbyter John, a short coat and a long gown interchangeably, in all the Courts of England. But the story of Severus was pretty, that he hanged up forty senators before the Senate-house, and then made a speech presently to the Senate, in praise of his own lenity; and then decreed that never any senator after that time should suffer in the same manner without consent of the Senate: which he compared to the proceedings of the Long Parliament against my Lord

Strafford. He said the greatest part of the lay magistrates in England were Puritans, and would not do justice; and the Bishops' powers were so taken away and lessened, that they could not exercise the power they ought. He told the King and the ladies, plainly speaking of death and of the skulls and bones of dead men and women, how there is no difference; that nobody could tell that of the great Marius or Alexander from a pioneer; nor, for all the pains the ladies take with their faces, he that should look in a charnel-house could not distinguish which was Cleopatra's, or fair Rosamond's, or Jane Shore's. My father finds Tom's matters very ill, and finds him to have been so negligent, that he used to trust his servants with cutting out of clothes, never hardly cutting out anything himself; and, by the abstract of his accounts, we find him to owe above £290, and to be coming to him under £200.

26th. To my office, about my Lord Peterborough's accounts for Tangier; but, Lord! to see how ridiculous Mr. Povy is in all he says or does; not like a man more fit to be in such employments as he is, and particularly that of a treasurer, as he is, to the King of England. In discourse, Sir W. Rider said, that he hath kept a journal of his life for almost these forty years, even to this day, and still do, which pleases me mightily. So home. This being my solemn feast for my cutting of the stone, it being now, blessed be God!

this day six years since the time; and I bless God I do in all respects find myself free from that disease, or any sign of it. Sir W. Batten told me how Sir Richard Temple hath spoke very discontentful words in the House about the Triennial Bill; but it hath been read the second time to-day, and committed; and, he believes, will go on without more ado, though there are many in the House are displeased at it, though they dare not say much. But, above all expectation, Mr. Prin is the man against it, comparing it to the idol whose head was of gold, and his body and legs and feet of different metal. So this Bill had several degrees of calling of Parliaments, in case the King, and then the Council, and then the Lord Chancellor, and then the Sheriffs should fail to do it. He tells me also, how, upon occasion of some 'prentices being put in the pillory to-day for beating of their masters, or such like thing, in Cheapside, a company of 'prentices came and rescued them, and pulled down the pillory; and they being set up again, did the like again. So that the Lord Mayor and Major-General Browne was fain to come and stay there, to keep the peace; and drums, all up and down the City, was bent to raise the trained bands for to quiet the town; and by-and-by, going out, we saw a trained band stand in Cheapside on their guard. It raining very fast, we met many brave coaches coming from the Park; and so we home ourselves, and ended the day with great content. My



wife found her gown came home laced, which is indeed very handsome, but will cost me a great deal of money, more than ever I intended, but it is but for once.

27th. (Lord's day.) It being church time, walked to St. James's to try if I could see the belle Butler, but could not; only saw her sister, who indeed is pretty, with a fine Roman nose. Thence walked through the ducking-pond fields; but they are so altered since my father used to carry us to Islington to the old man's, at the "King's Head," to eat cakes and ale (his name was Pitts), that I did not know which was the ducking-pond, nor where I was. So home; and in Cheapside, both coming and going, it was full of apprentices, who have been here all this day, and have done violence, I think, to the master of the boys that were put in the pillory yesterday. But, Lord! to see how the trained bands are raised upon this: the drums beating everywhere as if an enemy were upon them: so much is this City subject to be put into a disarray upon very small occasions. But it was pleasant to hear the boys, and particularly one little one, that I demanded the business of. He told me that that had never been done in the City since it was a City—two 'prentices put in the pillory! and that it ought not to be so.

28th. To T. Trice, and advised with him about our administering to my brother Tom; but, Lord! what a shame methinks, to me, that, in this condition, and at this age, I should know no better the laws of my own

country! Dinner with Mr. Coventry. The great matter to-day in the House hath been, that Mr. Vaughan, the great speaker, is this day come to town, and hath declared himself in a speech of an hour and a half, with great reason and eloquence, against the repealing of the Bill for Triennial Parliaments, but with no success: but the House have carried it that there shall be such Parliaments, but without any coercive power upon the King, if he will bring in this Act. But, Lord! to see how the best things are not done without some design; for I perceive all these gentlemen that I was with to-day were against it, though there was reason enough on their side, yet purely, I could perceive, because it was the King's mind to have it; and should he demand anything else I believe they would give it him. But this the discontented Presbyters, and the faction of the House, will be highly displeased with; but it was carried clearly against them in the House: We had excellent good table-talk, some of which I have entered in my book of stories. Home, and there find, by my wife, that Father Fogourdy hath been with her to-day, and she is mightily for our going to hear a famous Roulé preach at the French Ambassador's house: I pray God he do not tempt her in any matters of religion, which troubles me. And also, she had messages from her mother to-day, who sent for her old morning-gown, which was almost past wearing; and I used to call it

her kingdom, from the ease and content she used to have in the wearing of it. I am glad I do not hear of her begging anything of more value.

29th. To Sir G. Carteret's. About noon, Sir W. Batten came from the House of Parliament, and told us our Bill for our office was read the second time to-day with great applause, and is committed. By-and-by to dinner, where good cheer, and Sir G. Carteret in his humour a very good man, and the most kind father, and pleased father in his children that ever I saw. Here is now hung up a picture of my Lady Carteret, drawn by Lilly, a very fine picture, but yet not so good as I have seen of his doing.

30th. To Sir G. Carteret's, where my Lady made us drink our morning draught of several wines. I drank nothing but some of her coffee, which was poorly made, with a little sugar in it.

31st. To my office, where comes, by-and-by, Povy, Sir W. Rider, Mr. Bland, Creed, and Vernatty, about my Lord Peterborough's accounts, which we now went through, but with great difficulty, and many high words between Mr. Povy and I, for I could not endure to see so many things extraordinary put in against truth and reason. He was very angry, but I endeavoured all I could to profess my satisfaction in my Lord's part of the accounts, but not in those foolish idle things, they say I said, that others had put in. To an alehouse, where my cousin Scott was, and my

father's new tenant, Langford, a tailor, to whom I have presented my custom, and he seems a very modest, careful young man.

*April 1.* To Whitehall; and, in the Gallery, met the Duke of York; and also saw the Queen going to the Park, and her maids of honour: she herself looks ill, and methinks Mrs. Stewart is grown fatter, and not so fair as she was: and the Duke called me to him, and discoursed a good while with me; and after he was gone, twice or thrice stayed and called me again to him the whole length of the house, and at last talked of the Dutch; and I perceive do much wish that the Parliament will find reason to fall out with them. To walk in the garden with W. Howe, he telling me how my Lord is little at home, minds his carding and little else, takes little notice of anybody; but that he do not think he is displeased as I fear with me, but is strange to all. This day Mrs. Turner did lend me, as a rarity, a manuscript of one Mr. Wallis, written long ago, teaching the method of building a ship, which pleases me mightily.

3rd. (Lord's day.) Called up by W. Joyce, he being summoned to the House of Lords to-morrow for endeavouring to arrest my Lady Peters for a debt. In the afternoon my wife sent for me home to see her new laced gown; and indeed it becomes her very nobly, and is well made.

4th. Up, and walked to my Lord Sandwich's; and

there spoke with him about W. Joyce, who tells me he would do what was fit in so tender a point. Thence to Westminster, to the Painted Chamber, and there met the two Joyces. Will in a very melancholy taking. I to the Lords' House before they sat, and stood within it, while the Duke of York came to me, and spoke to me a good while about the new ship at Woolwich. Afterwards, I spoke with my Lord Barkeley and my Lord Peterborough about Joyce. And so stayed without a good while, and saw my Lady Peters, an impudent jade, soliciting all the Lords on her behalf. And, at last, W. Joyce was called in; and, by the consequences, and what my Lord Peterborough told me, I find that he did speak all he said to his disadvantage, and so was committed to the Black Rod, which is very hard, he doing what he did by the advice of my Lord Peters' own steward. But the Sergeant of the Black Rod did direct one of his messengers to take him in custody, and peaceably conducted him to the "Swan with Two Necks" in Tothill Street, to a handsome dining-room, and there was most civilly used, my uncle Fenner, and his brother Anthony [Joyce], and some other friends, being with him. But who would have thought that the fellow that I should have sworn could have spoken before all the world should in this be so daunted as not to know what he said, and now to cry like a child! I protest, it is very strange to observe. So away to Westminster

Hall, and, meeting Mr. Coventry, he took me to his chamber, with Sir William Hickman, a member of their House, and a very civil gentleman. Here we dined very plentifully, and thence to Whitehall, to the Duke's, where we all met, and, after some discourse of the condition of the fleet, in order to a Dutch war, for that, I perceive, the Duke hath a mind it should come to, we away to the office. It was a sad sight, methought, to-day to see my Lord Peters coming out of the House, fall out with his lady, from whom he is parted, about this business, saying that she disgraced him. But she hath been a handsome woman, and is, it seems, not only a lewd woman, but very high spirited.

5th. Up very betimes, and walked to my cousin Anthony Joyce's and thence with him to his brother Will, in Tothill Street, where I find him pretty cheery over what he was yesterday, like a coxcomb, his wife being come to him, and having had his boy with him last night. Thence back, and there spoke to several Lords, and so did his solicitor, one that W. Joyce hath promised £5 to, if he be released. Lord Peterborough presented a petition to the House from W. Joyce; and a great dispute, we hear, there was in the House for and against it. At last, it was carried that he should be bailed till the House meets again after Easter, he giving bond for his appearance. Anon comes the King, and passed the Bill for repealing the Triennial

Act, and another about Writs of Error. I crowded in, and heard the King's speech to them; but he speaks the worst that ever I heard a man in my life—worse than if he read it all, and he had it in writing in his hand. I to W. Joyce, with his brother, and told them all. Here was Kate come, and is a comely fat woman. I went to W. Joyce, where I find the order come, and bail, his father and brother, given, and he paying his fees, which came to above £12, besides £5 he is to give one man, and his charges of eating and drinking here, and 10s. a day, as many days as he stands under bail—which I hope will teach him hereafter to hold his tongue better than he used to do. This day, great numbers of merchants came to a grand committee of the House, to bring in their claims against the Dutch. I pray God guide the issue for our good!

6th. Came John Noble, my father's old servant, to speak with me. I, smelling the business, took him home; and there, all alone, he told me how he had been serviceable to my brother Tom, in the business of getting his servant, an ugly jade, Margaret, with child. She was brought to bed in St. Sepulchre's parish of two children—one is dead, the other is alive; her name, Elizabeth, and goes by the name of Taylor, daughter to John Taylor. It seems Tom did a great while trust one Cranly with the business, who daily got money of him; and, at last, finding himself abused, he broke the matter to J. Noble, upon a vow of secrecy. Tom's first

plot was to go on the other side of the water, and give a beggar woman something to take the child. They did once go, but did nothing, J. Noble saying that seven years hence the mother might come to demand the child, and force him to produce it, or to be suspected of murder. Then I think it was that they consulted, and got one Cave, a poor pensioner in St. Bride's parish, to take it, giving him £5, he thereby promising to keep it for ever without more charge to them. The parish hereupon indite the man Cave for bringing this child upon the parish, and by Sir Richard Browne he is sent to the Counter. Cave then writes to Tom to get him out. Tom answers him in a letter of his own hand, which J. Noble showed me, but not signed by him, wherein he speaks of freeing him and getting security for him, but nothing as to the business of the child, or anything like it; so that, forasmuch as I could guess, there is nothing therein to my brother's prejudice as to the main point, and therefore I did not labour to tear or take away the paper. Cave being released, demands £5 more to secure my brother for ever against the child; and he was forced to give it him, and took bond of Cave in £100, made at a scrivener's—one Hudson, I think, in the Old Bailey, to secure John Taylor and his assigns, &c., in consideration of £10 paid him, from all trouble, or charge of meat, drink, clothes, and breeding of Elizabeth Taylor; and it seems in the doing of it, J. Noble was looked upon as the assignee of this John



Taylor. Noble says that he furnished Tom with this money, and is also bound by another bond to pay him 20s. more this next Easter Monday; but nothing for either sum appears under Tom's hand. I told him how I am like to lose a great sum by his death, and would not pay any more myself, but I would speak to my father about it against the afternoon. After dinner took coach and to Paternoster Row, and there bought a pretty silk for a petticoat for my wife. I heard to-day that the Dutch have begun with us by granting letters of mark against us, but I believe it not.

7th. To the 'Change, where everybody expects a war. Thence to dinner, where my wife got me a pleasant French fricassee of veal.

8th. Sir W. Batten and I to the almshouse, to see the new building which he, with some ambition, is building of there, during his being Master of Trinity House; and a good work it is. Home to the only Lenten supper I have had of wigs and ale.

10th. (Lord's day.) My wife dressed herself, it being Easter-day, but I, not being so well as to go out, she, though much against her will, stayed at home with me, for she had put on her new best gown, which indeed is very fine now with the lace; and this morning her tailor brought home her other new laced silk gown with a smaller lace, and new petticoat I bought the other day, both very pretty. We spent the day in pleasant talk and company one with another, reading in Dr. Fuller's

book what he says of the family of the Cliffords and Kingsmills.

12th. To my uncle Wight's, where dined my father, poor melancholy man, that used to be as full of life as anybody, and also my aunt's brother, Mr. Sutton, a merchant in Flanders—a very sober, fine man, and Mr. Cole and his lady; but, Lord! how I used to adore that man's talk! and now methinks he is but an ordinary man. To my Lord's: there I found my Lord and ladies, and my wife at supper. My Lord seems very kind. So home, and find my father come to lie at our house, and so supped, and saw him, poor man, to bed—my heart never being fuller of love to him, nor admiration of his prudence and pains heretofore in the world than now, to see how Tom hath carried himself in his trade; and how the poor man hath his thoughts going to provide for his younger children and my mother. But I hope they shall never want.

13th. To St. James's, where I found Mr. Coventry, the Duke being now come thither for the summer, with a goldsmith, sorting out his old plate to change for new; but, Lord! what a deal he hath!

14th. Up betimes, and, after my father's eating something, I walked out with him as far as Milk Street, he turning down to Cripplegate to take coach; and at the end of the street I took leave, being much afraid I shall not see him here any more—he do decay so much every day.

15th. At noon to the 'Change, where I met with Mr. Hill, the little merchant, with whom, I perceive, I shall contract a musical acquaintance; but I will make it as little troublesome as I can. To the Duke's house, and there saw *The German Princess* acted by the woman herself; but never was anything so well done in earnest, worse performed in jest upon the stage. And indeed the whole play, abating the drollery of him that acts her husband, is very simple, unless here and there a witty sprinkle or two.

16th. With Mr. Coventry to the African House; and after a good and pleasant dinner, up with him, Sir W. Rider, the simple Povy of all, the most ridiculous fool that ever I knew to attend to business, and Creed, and Vernatty, about my Lord Peterborough's accounts; but the more we look into them, the more we see of them that makes dispute.

17th. (Lord's day.) Up, and I put on my best black cloth suit and my velvet cloak, and with my wife in her best laced suit to church, where we have not been these nine or ten weeks. A young simple fellow did preach; slept soundly all the sermon. Our parson, Mr. Mills, his own mistake in reading of the service, was very remarkable—that instead of saying, "We beseech thee to preserve to our use the kindly fruits of the earth," he cries, "Preserve to our use our gracious Queen Katherine!"

18th. Up, and by coach to Westminster, and there

solicited W. Joyce's business again; and did speak to the Duke of York about it, who did understand it very well. I afterwards did without the House fall in company with my Lady Peters, and endeavoured to mollify her; but she told me she would not, to redeem her from hell, do anything to release him; but would be revenged while she lived, if she lived the age of Methusalem. I made many friends, and so did others. At last, it was ordered by the Lords that it should be referred to the Committee of Privileges to consider. So I away by coach to the 'Change; and there do hear that a Jew hath put in a policy of four per cent. to any man, to insure him against a Dutch war for four months: I could find in my heart to take him at this offer. To Hyde Park, where I have not been since last year, where I saw the King with his periwig, but not altered at all; and my Lady Castlemaine in a coach by herself, in yellow satin and a pinner on, and many brave persons. And myself, being in a hackney and full of people, was ashamed to be seen by the world, many of them knowing me.

19th. To the Physic Gardens in St. James's Park, where I first saw orange trees and other fine trees.

20th. Mr. Coventry told me how the Committee for Trade have received now all the complaints of the merchants against the Dutch, and were resolved to report very highly the wrongs they have done us, when, God knows! it is only our own negligence and laziness

that hath done us the wrong: and this to be made to the House to-morrow.

21st. At the Lords' House heard that it is ordered, that, upon submission upon the knee, both to the House and my Lady Peters, W. Joyce shall be released. I forthwith made him submit, and ask pardon upon his knees; which he did before several Lords. But my Lady would not hear it; but swore she would post the Lords, that the world might know what pitiful Lords the King hath; and that revenge was sweeter to her than milk: and that she would never be satisfied unless he stood in a pillory and demand pardon there. But I perceive the Lords are ashamed of her. I find that the House this day have voted that the King be desired to demand right for the wrong done us by the Dutch, and that they will stand by him with their lives and fortunes, which is a very high vote, and more than I expected. What the issue will be God knows!

22nd. I was called up this morning before four o'clock. It was full light enough to dress myself, and so by water against tide, it being a little cool, to Greenwich; and thence, only that it was somewhat foggy till the sun got to some height, walked with great pleasure to Woolwich, in my way staying several times to listen to the nightingales. Thence home, and by coach to Mrs. Turner's, and there, after reading part of a good play, Mrs. The., my wife, and I, in their coach to Hyde Park, where great plenty of gallants, and pleasant it

was, only for the dust. Here I saw Mrs. Bendy, my Lady Spillman's fair daughter that was, who continues yet very handsome. Many others I saw with great content, and so home. I did also carry them into St. James's Park, and showed them the garden.

23rd. (Coronation day.) I met with Mr. Coventry, who himself is now full of talk of a Dutch war; for it seems the Lords have concurred in the Commons' vote about it; and so the next week it will be presented to the King, insomuch that he do desire we would look about to see what stores we lack, and buy what we can. Home to dinner, where I and my wife much troubled about my money that is in my Lord Sandwich's hand, for fear of his going to sea and being killed: but I will get what out of it I can.

25th. The Duke, which gives me great good hopes, do talk of setting up a good discipline in the fleet. In the Duke's chamber there is a bird, given him by Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, come from the East Indies—black the greatest part, with the finest collar of white about the neck; but talks many things, and neighs like the horse and other things, the best almost that ever I heard bird in my life. To my Lord Sandwich's, where by agreement I met my wife, and there dined with the young ladies; my Lady, being not well, kept her chamber. Much simple discourse at table among the young ladies. After dinner, walked in the garden, talking with Mr. Moore about my Lord's business. He

told me my Lord runs in debt every day more and more, and takes little care how to come out of it. He counted to me how my Lord pays use now for above £9,000, which is a sad thing, especially considering the probability of his going to sea, in great danger of his life, and his children, many of them, to provide for. Thence, the young ladies going out to visit, I took my wife by coach out through the City, discoursing how to spend the afternoon, and conquered, with much ado, a desire of going to the play; but took her out at White-chapel, and took her out to Bethnal Green; so to Hackney, where I have not been many a year, since a little child I boarded there. Thence to Kingsland, by my nurse's house, Goody Lawrence, where my brother Tom and I were kept when young. Then to Newington Green, and saw the outside of Mrs. Herbert's house, where she lived, and my aunt Ellen with her; but Lord! how in every point I find myself to over-value things when a child. Thence to Islington, and so to St. John's to the "Red Bull," and there saw the latter part of a rude prize fight; and thence back to Islington, and at the "King's Head," where Pitts lived, we alight and ate and drank for remembrance of the old house sake; and so through Kingsland again, and so to Bishopsgate, and so home with great pleasure. The country mighty pleasant—only a little troubled at the young ladies leaving my wife so to-day, and from some passages fearing

my Lady might be offended. But I hope for the best.

26th. Saw W. Joyce, and the late business hath cost the poor man above £40; besides, he is likely to lose his debt. Lady Peters, Creed says, is a drunken jade, he himself having seen her drunk in the lobby of the House. With my Lord to the Duke. Methought the Duke did not show him any so great fondness as he was wont; and methought my Lord was not pleased that I should see the Duke made no more of him. Creed and I walked round the Park—a pleasant walk—observing the birds, which is very pleasant; and so walked to the New Exchange, and there had a most delicate dish of curds and cream. Home to the Old Exchange by coach, where great news and true, I saw by written letters, of strange fires seen at Amsterdam in the air—and not only there, but in other places thereabout. The talk of a Dutch war is not so hot, but yet I fear it will come to it. My wife gone this afternoon to the burial of my she-cousin Scott, a good woman; and it is a sad consideration how the Pepyses decay, and nobody almost that I know in a present way of increasing them.

27th. Home with Alderman Backewell, whose opinion is, that the Dutch will not give over the business without putting us to some trouble to set out a fleet; and then, if they see we go on well, will seek to salve up the matter. Met Mr. Sanchy, of Cambridge, whom



I have not met a great while. He seems a simple fellow, and tells me their master, Dr. Rainbow, is newly made Bishop of Carlisle. This day the Houses attended the King, and delivered their votes to him upon the business of the Dutch; and he thanks them, and promises an answer in writing.

29th. To see my Lady Sandwich, where we find all the children and my Lord recovered, and the house so melancholy that I thought my Lady had been dead, knowing that she was not well; but it seems she hath the measles, and I fear the small-pox, poor lady. It grieves me mightily; for it will be a sad hour to the family should she miscarry.

30th. My Lord Bristol's business is hushed up, and nothing made of it—he is gone, and the discourse in that ended.

May 2. By coach to the King's Playhouse, to see *The Labyrinth*, but coming too soon, walked to my Lord's to hear how my Lady does—who is pretty well; at least, past all fear. There by Captain Ferrers, meeting with an opportunity of my Lord's coach, to carry us to the Park anon, we directed it to come to the playhouse door; and so we walked, my wife and I and Mademoiselle. I paid for her going in, and there saw *The Labyrinth*, the prettiest play, methinks, that ever I saw, there being nothing in it but the odd accidents that fell out, by a lady's being bred up in man's apparel, and a man in woman's. Here was Mrs. Stewart, who

is indeed very pretty, but not like my Lady Castle-maine, for all that. Thence in the coach to the Park, where no pleasure, there being much dust, little company, and one of our horses almost spoiled by falling down; but all mended presently, and, after riding up and down, home. Set Mademoiselle at home, and we home, and to my office, whither comes Mr. Bland, and paid me the debt he acknowledged he owed me for my service in his business of the Tangier merchant—twenty pieces of new gold, a pleasant sight. It cheered my heart; and, he being gone, I home to supper, and showed them my wife; and she, poor wretch, would fain have kept them to look on, without any other design but a simple love to them; but I thought it not convenient, and so took them into my own hand.

3rd. To Mr. Coventry's chamber, and there upon my Lord Peterborough's account, where I endeavoured to show the folly, and punish it as much as I could, of Mr. Povy; for, of all the men in the world, I never knew any man of his degree so great a coxcomb in such employments. I see I have lost him for ever, but I value it not; for he is a coxcomb, and, I doubt, not over honest, by some things which I see; and yet, for all his folly, he hath the good luck, now and then, to speak his follies in so good words, and with as good a show, as if it were reason, and to the purpose. To Westminster Hall; and there, in the Lords' House, did in a great crowd, from ten o'clock till almost three,

hear the cause of Mr. Roberts, my Lord Privy Seal's son, against Win, who by false ways did get the father of Mr. Robert's wife, Mr. Bodvil, to give him the estate and disinherit his daughter. The cause was managed for my Lord Privy Seal by Finch, the Solicitor-General; but I do really think that he is a man of as great eloquence as ever I heard, or ever hope to hear in all my life. Mr. Cutler told me how for certain Lawson had proclaimed war again with Algiers, though they had, at his first coming, given back the ships which they had taken and all their men, though they refused afterwards to make him restitution for the goods which they had taken out of them. I went with Mr. Norbury, near hand to the "Fleece," a mum-house in Leadenhall, and there drank mum, and by-and-by broke up.

4th. To my cousin Scott's. There condoled with him the loss of my cousin his wife, and talked about his matters, as attorney to my father, in his administering to my brother Tom. He tells me we are like to receive some shame about the business of his bastard with Jack Noble; but no matter, so it cost us no money. The plague increase at Amsterdam.

5th. My eyes beginning every day to grow less and less able to bear with long reading or writing, though it be by daylight, which I never observed till now.

8th. (Lord's day.) This day, my new tailor, Mr.

Langford, brought me home a new black cloth suit and cloak lined with silk moire.

9th. To my Lady Sandwich's, who, good lady, is now, thanks be to God! so well as to sit up, and sent to us, if we were not afraid to come up to her. So we did; but she was mightily against my wife's coming so near her, though, poor wretch! she is as well as ever she was, as to the measles, and nothing can I see upon her face. There we sat talking with her above three hours, till six o'clock, of several things, with great pleasure, and so away.

13th. Up before three o'clock, and a little after upon the water, it being very light as at noon, and a bright sun-rising; but by-and-by a rainbow appeared, the first that ever in a morning I saw. In the Painted Chamber I heard a fine conference between some of the two Houses upon the Bill for Conventicles. The Lords would be freed from having their houses searched by any but the Lord Lieutenant of the County; and, upon being found guilty, to be tried only by their peers; and, thirdly, would have it added, that whereas the Bill says, "That that, among other things, shall be a conventicle wherein any such meeting is found doing any thing contrary to the Liturgy of the Church of England," they would have it added, "or practice." The Commons to the Lords said, that they knew not what might hereafter be found out which might be called the practice of the Church of England,

which were never established by any law, either common, statute, or canon: as singing of psalms, binding up prayers at the end of the Bible, and praying extempore before and after sermon; and though these are things indifferent, yet things, for aught they at present know, may be started, which may be said to be the practice of the Church which would not be fit to allow. For the Lords' privileges, Mr. Waller told them how tender their predecessors had been of the privileges of the Lords; but, however, where the peace of the kingdom stands in competition with them, they apprehend those privileges must give place. He told them that he thought, if they should own all to be the privileges of the Lords which might be demanded, they should be led like the man, who granted leave to his neighbour to pull off his horse's tail, meaning that he could not do it at once, that hair by hair had his horse's tail pulled off indeed: so the Commons, by granting one thing after another, might be served by the Lords. Mr. Vaughan, whom I could not to my grief perfectly hear, did say, if that they should be obliged in this manner to exempt the Lords from everything, it would in time come to pass that whatever, be it ever so great, should be voted by the Commons as a thing penal for a commoner, the contrary should be thought a privilege to the Lords; that also, in this business, the work of an hour, the cause of a search would be over before a Lord Lieutenant,

who may be many miles off, can be sent for; and that all this dispute is but about £100, for it is said in the Act, that it shall be banishment or payment of £100. I thereupon heard the Duke of Lennox say that there might be lords who could not always be ready to lose £100, or some such thing. They broke up without coming to any end in it. There was also in the Commons' House a great quarrel about Mr. Prin, and it was believed that he should have been sent to the Tower, for adding something to a Bill, after it was ordered to be engrossed, of his own head—a Bill for measures for wine and other things of that sort, and a Bill of his own bringing in; but it appeared he could not mean any hurt in it. But, however, the King was fain to write in his behalf, and all was passed over. But it is worth my remembrance, that I saw old Ryly, the herald, and his son; and spoke to his son, who told me, in very bad words concerning Mr. Prin, that the King had given him an office of keeping the Records, but that he never comes thither, nor had been there these six months; so that I perceive they expect to get his employment from him. Thus everybody is liable to be envied and supplanted.

16th. With Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, to see an experiment of killing a dog, by letting opium into his hind-leg. He and Dr. Clerke did fail mightily in hitting the vein, and in effect did not do the business after many trials, but, with the little they got in, the

dog did presently fall asleep, and so lay till we cut him up, and a little dog also, which they put it down his throat—he also staggered first, and then fell asleep, and so continued. Whether he recovered or no after I was gone I know not.

18th. A pretty cabinet sent me by Mr. Shales, which I gave my wife, and very conveniently it comes for her closet.

19th. To a Committee of Tangier, where God forgive how our report of my Lord Peterborough's accounts was read over and agreed to by the Lords, without one of them understanding it! And, had it been what it would, it had gone; and besides, not one thing touching the King's profit in it minded or hit upon.

20th. Mr. Edward Montagu is turned out of the Court, not to return again. His fault, I perceive, was his pride, and most of all his affecting to be great with the Queen; and it seems indeed he had more of her ear than everybody else, and would be with her talking alone two or three hours together; insomuch that the Lords about the King, when he would be jesting with them about their wives, would tell the King that he must have a care of his wife too, for she hath now the gallant; and they say the King himself did once ask Montagu how his mistress, meaning the Queen, did. He grew so proud, and despised everybody, besides suffering nobody, he or she, to get or do anything

about the Queen, that they all laboured to do him a good turn. They all say that he did give some affront to the Duke of Monmouth, which the King himself did speak to him of. But strange it is that this man should, from the greatest negligence in the world, come to be the miracle of attendance, so as to take all offices from everybody, either men or women, about the Queen. So he is gone, nobody pitying, but laughing at him; and he pretends only that he is gone to his father that is sick in the country.

22nd. (Lord's day.) To Whitehall. Here the Duke of York called me to him, to ask me whether I did intend to go with him to Chatham or no. I told him if he commanded, but I did believe there would be business here for me, and so he told me then it would be better to stay. After staying, and seeing the throng of people to attend the King to chapel, but Lord! what a company of sad, idle people they are.

23rd. The King is gone down with the Duke and a great crew this morning by break of day to Chatham.

24th. This day I heard that my uncle Fenner is dead, which makes me a little sad, to see with what speed a great many of my friends are gone, and more, I fear, for my father's sake, are going.

25th. This afternoon came Tom and Charles Pepys by my sending for, and received of me £40 in part towards their £70 legacy of my uncle's.

26th. Carried my wife to the Old Bailey, and there



we were led to the quest house, by the church, where all the kindred were by themselves at the burial of my uncle Fenner; but, Lord! what a pitiful rout of people there were of them, but very good service, and great company the whole was. And so anon to church, and a good sermon, and so home.

27th. To comfort my heart, Captain Taylor this day brought me £20 he promised me for my assistance to him about his masts.

29th. (Whit Sunday.) King's birth and Restoration day. Mr. Coventry and I did long discourse together of the business of the office and the war with the Dutch, and he seemed to argue mightily upon the little reason that there is for all this. For, first, as to the wrong we pretend they have done us: that of the East Indies, for their not delivering of Poleron, it is not yet known whether they have failed or no; that of their hindering the *Leopard* cannot amount to above £3,000, if true; that of the Guinea Company, all they had done us did not amount to above £200 or £300 he told me truly; and that now, from what Holmes, without any commission, hath done in taking an island and two forts, hath set as much in debt to them; and he believes that Holmes will have been so puffed up with this, that he by this time hath, being reinforced with more strength than he had then, hath, I say, done a great deal more wrong to them. He does, as to the effect of the war, tell me clearly that it is not any

skill of the Dutch that can hinder our trade if we will, we having so many advantages over them of winds, good ports, and men; but it is our pride, and the laziness of the merchant. The main thing he desired to speak with me about was, to understand my Lord Sandwich's intentions as to going to sea with this fleet; saying that the Duke, if he desires it, is most willing to do it, but, thinking that twelve ships is not a fleet fit for my Lord to be troubled to go out with, he is not willing to offer it to him till he hath some intimations of his mind to go or not. He spoke this with very great respect to my Lord, though, methinks, it is strange they should not understand one another better at this time than to need another's mediation. To the King's closet; whither by-and-by the King came, my Lord Sandwich carrying the sword. A bishop preached, but he was speaking too low for me to hear. By-and-by my Lord Sandwich came forth and called me to him; and we fell into discourse a great while about his business, wherein he seems to be very open with me, and to receive my opinion as he used to do, and I hope I shall become necessary to him again. He desired me to think of the fitness, or not, for him to offer himself to go to sea; and to give him my thoughts in a day or two. Thence after sermon among the ladies in the Queen's side, where I saw Mrs. Stewart, very fine and pretty, but far beneath my Lady Castlemaine. Thence with Mr. Povy home to dinner, where

extraordinary cheer; and after dinner, up and down to see his house. And in a word, methinks, for his perspective in the little closet; his room floored above with woods of several colours, like but above the best cabinet-work I ever saw; his grotto and vault, with his bottles of wine, and a well therein to keep them cool; his furniture of all sorts; his bath at the top of the house, good pictures, and his manner of eating and drinking, do surpass all that ever I did see of one man in all my life.

31st. To my Lord, and to discourse about his going to sea, and the message I had from Mr. Coventry to him. He wonders, as he well may, that this course should be taken, and he every day with the Duke, who, nevertheless, seems most friendly to him, who hath not yet spoke one word to my Lord of his desire to have him go to sea. My Lord do tell me clearly that were it not that he, as all other men that were of the Parliament side, are obnoxious to reproach, and so is forced to bear what otherwise he would not, he would never suffer everything to be done in the navy, and he never be consulted; and it seems, in the naming of all these commanders for this fleet, he hath never been asked one question. But we concluded it wholly inconsistent with his honour not to go with this fleet, nor with the reputation which the world hath of his interest at Court; and so he did give me commission to tell Mr. Coventry that he is most willing to receive any

commands from the Duke in this fleet, were it less than it is, and that particularly in this service. With this message I parted, and by coach to the office, where I found Mr. Coventry and told him this. Methought, I confess, he did not seem so pleased with it as I expected, or at least could have wished, and asked me whether I had told my Lord that the Duke do not expect his going, which I told him I had. To St. James's to one Lady Poultney's, where I found my Lord, I doubt, at some vain pleasure or other. I was told to-day that, upon Sunday night last, being the King's birthday, the King was at my Lady Castlemaine's lodgings, over the hither-gate at Lambert's lodgings, dancing with fiddlers all night almost; and all the world coming by taking notice of it.

June 1. By water to Woolwich, all the way reading Mr. Spencer's Book of Prodigies which is most ingeniously written, both for matter and style. Southwell, Sir W. Pen's friend, tells me the very sad news of my Lord Teviott's and nineteen more commissioned officers being killed at Tangier by the Moors, by an ambush of the enemy upon them, while they were surveying their lines, which is very sad, and he says afflicts the King much. To the King's house, and saw *The Silent Woman*; but methought not so well done or so good a play as I formerly thought it to be. Before the play was done, it fell such a storm of hail,

that we in the middle of the pit were fain to rise, and all the house in a disorder.

2nd. To a Committee of Tangier about providing provisions, money, and men; but it is strange to see how poorly and brokenly things are done of the greatest consequence, and how soon the memory of this great man is gone, or, at least, out of mind by the thoughts of who goes next, which is not yet known. My Lord of Oxford, Muskerrey, and several others are discoursed of. It seems my Lord Teviott's design was to go a mile and a half out of the town, to cut down a wood, in which the enemy did use to lie in ambush. He had sent several spies; but all brought word that the way was clear, and so might be for anybody's discovery of an enemy before you are upon them. There they were all snapped, he and all his officers, and about two hundred men, as they say, there being left now in the garrison but four captains. This happened on the 3rd of May last, being not before that day twelvemonth of his entering into his government there: but, at his going out in the morning, he said to some of his officers, "Gentlemen, let us look to ourselves, for it was this day three years that so many brave Englishmen were knocked on the head by the Moors, when Fines made his sally out."

3rd. At the Committee for Tangier all the afternoon—the Duke of York and Mr. Coventry, for aught I see, being the only two that do anything like men;

Prince Rupert does nothing but swear and laugh, with an oath or two.

4th. I went forth with J. Noble, who tells me that he will secure us against Cave—that though he knows and can prove it, yet nobody else can prove it, to be Tom's child; that the bond was made by one Hudson, a scrivener, next to the "Fountain" tavern, in the Old Bailey; that the children were born and christened, and entered in the parish-book of St. Sepulchre's, by the name of Anne and Elizabeth Taylor; and he will give us security against Cave if we pay him the money. To the Duke, and was giving him an account how matters go, and of the necessity there is of a power to press seamen, without which we cannot really raise men for this fleet of twelve sail, besides that it will assert the King's power of pressing, which at present is somewhat doubted, and will make the Dutch believe that we are in earnest. To the Committee of Tangier all the afternoon, where still the same confused doings, and my Lord Fitzharding now added to the Committee, which will signify much. Mr. Coventry discoursing this noon about Sir W. Batten, what a sad fellow he is, told me how the King told him the other day how Sir W. Batten, being in the ship with him and Prince Rupert when they expected to fight with Warwick, did walk up and down sweating, with a napkin under his throat to dry up his sweat: and that Prince Rupert, being a most jealous man, and particularly of Batten,

do walk up and down swearing bloodily to the King. that Batten had a mind to betray them to-day, and that the napkin was a signal, "But, by God," says he, "if things go ill, the first thing I will do is to shoot him." He discoursed largely and bravely to me concerning the different sort of valours, the active and passive valour. For the latter, he brought as an instance General Blake, who, in the defending of Taunton and Lyme for the Parliament, did, through his sober sort of valour, defend it the most *opiniastrement* that ever any man did anything, and yet never was the man that ever made an attack by land or sea, but rather avoided it on all, even fair occasions. On the other side, Prince Rupert, the boldest attacker in the world for personal courage, and yet, in the defending of Bristol, no man ever did anything worse, he wanting the patience and seasoned head to consult and advise for defence, and to bear with the evils of a siege. The like he says of my Lord Teviott, who was the boldest adventurer of his person in the world, and from a mean man in a few years was come to this greatness of command and repute only by the death of all his officers, he many times having the luck of being the only survivor of them all, by venturing upon services for the King of France that nobody else would, and yet no man upon a defence, he being all fury and of no judgment in a fight. He tells me, above all, of the Duke of York, that he is more himself, and more of

judgment is at hand in him, in the middle of a desperate service than at other times, as appeared in the business of Dunkirk, wherein no man ever did braver things, or was in hotter service in the close of that day, being surrounded with enemies; and then, contrary to the advice of all about him, his counsel carried himself and the rest through them safe, by advising that he might make his passage with but a dozen with him. "For," says he, "the enemy cannot move after me so fast with a great body, and with a small one we shall be enough to deal with them;" and, though he is a man naturally martial to the hottest degree, yet a man that never in his life talks one word of himself or service of his own, but only that he saw such or such a thing, and lays it down for a maxim that a Hector can have no courage. He told me also, as a great instance of some men, that the Prince of Condé's excellence is, that there not being a more furious man in the world, danger in fight never disturbs him more than just to make him civil, and to command in words of great obligation to his officers and men; but without any the least disturbance in his judgment or spirit.

6th. By barge with Sir W. Batten to Trinity House. Here were my Lord Sandwich, Mr. Coventry, my Lord Craven, and others. A great dinner, and good company, Mr. Prin, also, who would not drink any health, no, not the King's, but sat down with his hat on all the while; but nobody took notice of it to him at all.



8th. With Creed talking of many things, among others of my Lord's going so often to Chelsea; and he tells me that his daughters do perceive all, and do hate the place, and the young woman, Mrs. Betty Beck; for my Lord who sent them thither, only for a disguise for his going thither, will come under a pretence to see them, and pack them out of doors to the Park, and stay behind with her; but now the young ladies are gone to their mother to Kensington.

11th. With my wife only to take the air, it being very warm and pleasant, to Bow and Old Ford, and thence to Hackney. There alight, and played at shuffle-board, eat cream and good cherries, and so with good refreshment home.

13th. Spent the whole morning reading of some old navy books; wherein the order that was observed in the navy then, above what it is now, is very observable. Mr. Coventry did talk of a history of the navy of England, how fit it were to be written; and he did say that it hath been in his mind to propose to me the writing of the history of the late Dutch war, which I am glad to hear, it being a thing I much desire, and sorts mightily with my genius; and, if done well, may recommend me much. So he says he will get me an order for making of searches to all records, &c., in order thereto, and I shall take great delight in doing of it.

14th. By coach to Kensington. In the way over-

taking Mr. Laxton, the apothecary, with his wife and daughters—very fine young lassies—in a coach; and so both of us to my Lady Sandwich, who hath lain this fortnight here, at Dean Hodge's. Much company came hither to-day—my Lady Carteret, &c., Sir William Wheeler and his lady, and, above all, Mr. Beck, of Chelsea, and wife and daughter, my Lord's, mistress, and one that hath not one good feature in her face, and yet is a fine lady, of a fine tail, and very well carriaged, and mighty discreet. I took all the occasion I could to discourse with the young ladies in her company to give occasion to her to talk, which now and then she did, and that mighty finely, and is, I perceive, a woman of such an air, as I wonder the less at my Lord's favour to her, and I dare warrant him she hath brains enough to entangle him. Two or three hours we were in her company, going into Sir H. Finch's garden, and seeing the fountain, and singing there with the ladies, and a mighty fine cool place it is, with a great laver of water in the middle, and the bravest place for music I ever heard. After much mirth, discoursing to the ladies in defence of the city against the country or court, and giving them occasion to invite themselves to-morrow to me to dinner to my venison pasty, I got their mother's leave, and so good night, very well pleased with my day's work, and, above all, that I have seen my Lord's mistress.

15th. I got Captain Witham to tell me the whole

story of my Lord Teviott's misfortune; for he was upon the guard with his horse near the town, when at a distance he saw the enemy appear upon a hill, a mile and a half off, and made up to them, and with much ado escaped himself; but what became of my Lord he neither knows nor thinks that anybody but the enemy can tell. Our loss was about four hundred. But he tells me that the greater wonder is that my Lord Teviott met no sooner with such a disaster, for every day he did commit himself to more probable danger than this, for now he had the assurance of all his scouts that there was no enemy thereabouts; whereas, he used every day to go out with two or three with him, to make his discoveries in greater danger, and yet the man that could not endure to have anybody else to go a step out of order to endanger himself. He concludes him to be the man of the hardest fate to lose so much honour at one blow that ever was. His relation being done, he parted, and I home. At home, to look after things for dinner. And anon at noon comes Mr. Creed by chance, and by-and-by the three young ladies, and very merry we were with our pasty, very well baked, and a good dish of roasted chickens, pease, lobsters, strawberries. And after dinner to cards, and about five o'clock, by water down to Greenwich, and up to the top of the hill, and there played upon the ground at cards. And so to the Cherry Garden, and then by water singing finely to the Bridge, and there landed;

and so took boat again and to Somerset House. And by this time, the tide being against us, it was past ten o'clock, and such a troublesome passage in regard to my Lady Paulina's fearfulness, that in all my life I never did see any poor wretch in that condition. Being come hither, there waited for them their coach; but it being so late, I doubted what to do how to get them home. After half an hour's stay in the street I sent my wife home by coach with Mr. Creed's boy, and myself and Creed in the coach home with them. But, Lord! the fear that my Lady Paulina was in every step of the way, and indeed, at this time of the night, it was no safe thing to go that road, so that I was even afraid myself, though I appeared otherwise. We came safe, however, to their house, where we knocked them up, my Lady and all the family being in bed. So put them into doors, and, leaving them with the maids, bade them good night. Then into the town, —Creed and I, it being about twelve o'clock and past; and to several houses—inns, but could get no lodging, all being in bed. At last we found some people drinking and roaring, and, after drinking, got an ill bed.

16th. I lay in my drawers and stockings and waistcoat till five of the clock, and so up; and being well pleased with our frolic, walked to Knightsbridge, and there ate a mess of cream, and so to St. James's, and I to Whitehall, and took coach, and found my wife well

got home last night, and now in bed. The talk upon the 'Change is, that De Ruyter is dead, with fifty men of his own ship, of the plague, at Calais: that the Holland Ambassador here do endeavour to sweeten us with fair words, and things like to be peaceable. With my cousin Richard Pepys upon the 'Change, about supplying us with bewpers, from Norwich, which I should be glad of, if cheap.

20th. I to the Duke, where we did our usual business. And among other discourse of the Dutch, he was merrily saying how they print that Prince Rupert, Duke of Albemarle, and my Lord Sandwich are to be Generals, and soon after is to follow them "Vieux Pen:" and so the Duke called him in mirth Old Pen. They have, it seems, lately wrote to the King, to assure him that their setting-out ships was only to defend their fishing-trade, and to stay near home—not to annoy the King's subjects; and to desire that he would do the like with his ships, which the King laughs at, but yet is troubled they should think him such a child, to suffer them to bring home their fish and East India Company's ships, and then they will not care for us. Meeting Pickering, he tells us how my Lady last week went to see Mrs. Beck, the mother; and by-and-by the daughter came in, but that my Lady do say herself, as he says, that she knew not for what reason, for she never knew they had a daughter, which I do not believe. She was troubled. and her heart did

rise as soon as she appeared, and seems the most ugly woman that ever she saw. This, if true, were strange, but I believe it is not. To my Lord's lodgings, and was merry with the young ladies, who make a great story of their appearing before their mother the morning after we carried them, the last week, home so late; and that their mother took it very well, at least, without any anger. Here I heard how the rich widow, my Lady Gold, is married to one Neale, after he had received a box on the ear by her brother, who was there a sentinel, in behalf of some courtier, at the door, but made him draw, and wounded him. She called Neale up to her, and sent for a priest, married presently, and went to bed. The brother sent to the Court and had a serjeant sent for Neale; but Neale sent for him up to be seen in bed, and she owned him for her husband, and so all is past. It seems Sir H. Bennet did look after her. My Lady very pleasant. After dinner came in Sir Thomas Crewe and Mr. Sidney [Montagu], lately come from France, who is grown a little, and a pretty youth he is, but not so improved as they did give him out to be, but like a child still. But yet I can perceive he hath good parts and good inclinations.

21st. Meeting Mr. Moore, I perceive by him my Lord's business of his family and estate goes very ill, and runs in debt mightily. I would to God I were clear of it, both as to my own money and the bond of

£1,000, which I stand debtor for him in, to my cousin Thomas Pepys.

22nd. To the 'Change and coffee-house, where great talk of the Dutch preparing of sixty sail of ships. The plague grows mightily among them, both at sea and land.

23rd. W. Howe was with me this afternoon, to desire some things to be got ready for my Lord against his going down to his ship, which will be soon, for it seems the King and both the Queens intend to visit him. The Lord knows how my Lord will get out of this charge, for Mr. Moore tells me to-day that he is £10,000 in debt, and this will, with many other things, that daily grow upon him, while he minds his pleasure as he does, set him further backward.

24th. To the City granaries, where it seems, every company have their granary, and obliged to keep such a quantity of corn always there, or, at a time of scarcity, to issue it at so much a bushel, and a fine thing it is to see their stores of all sorts, for piles for the bridge, and for pipes. To Whitehall, and Mr. Pierce showed me the Queen's bedchamber and her closet, where she had nothing but some pretty pious pictures and books of devotion; and her holy water at her head as she sleeps, with a clock by her bedside, wherein a lamp burns that tells her the time of the night at any time. Thence with him to the Park, and there met the Queen coming from chapel, with her Maids of

Honour, all in silver-lace gowls again, which is new to me, and that which I did not think would have been brought up again. Thence he carried me to the King's closet, where such variety of pictures and other things of value and rarity, that I was properly confounded, and enjoyed no pleasure in the sight of them, which is the only time in my life that ever I was so at a loss for pleasure, in the greatest plenty of objects to give it me.

26th. (Lord's day.) At my Lord Sandwich's, where his little daughter, my Lady Katherine, was brought, who is lately come from my father's at Brampton, to have her cheek looked after, which is and hath long been sore. But my Lord will rather have it be as it is, with a scar on her face, than endanger it being worse by tampering. I went home, and with Creed called at several churches, which, God knows, are supplied with very young men, and the churches very empty; and at our own church looked in, and there heard one preach whom Sir William Pen brought, which he desired us yesterday to hear, that had been his chaplain in Ireland, a very silly fellow. After dinner a frolic took us we would go this afternoon to the Hope; so my wife dressed herself, and with good victuals and drink, we took boat presently, and the tide with us, got down, but it was night, and the tide spent by the time we got to Gravesend; so there we stopped, but went not on shore, only Creed, to get some



cherries, and sent a letter to the Hope where the fleet lies. And so, it being rainy and thundering mightily and lightning, we returned with great pleasure home, about twelve o'clock, Creed telling pretty stories in the boat. He lay with me all night.

27th. To Paul's Churchyard, and there saw Sir Harry Spillman's book, and I bespoke it and others.

28th. Put on a half-shirt first this summer, it being very hot ; and yet so ill-tempered I am grown, that I am afraid I shall catch cold, while all the world is afraid to melt away. To the "Mitre," and there comes Dr. Burnett to us, and there I began to have his advice about my disease, and then invited him to my house, and I am resolved to put myself into his hands.

29th. Mr. Shepley tells me how my brave dog I did give him, going out betimes one morning, to Huntingdon, was set upon by five other dogs, and worried to pieces, of which I am a little, and he the most sorry I ever saw man for such a thing. To Westminster to see Dean Honiwood, whom I had not visited a great while. He is a good-natured but a very weak man, yet a Dean, and a man in great esteem. My Lady and I sat two hours alone, talking of the condition of her family's being greatly in debt, and many children now coming up to provide for. I did give her my sense very plainly of it, which she took well, and carried further than myself, to the bemoaning their condition, and remembering how finely things were

ordered about six years ago, when I lived there, and my Lord at sea every year.

30th. By water to Woolwich, and walked back from Woolwich to Greenwich all alone; saw a man that had a cudgel in his hand, and, though he told me he laboured in the King's yard, and many other good arguments that he is an honest man, yet, God forgive me! I did doubt he might knock me on the head behind with his club. But I got safe home. Great doubts yet whether the Dutch war go on or no. The fleet ready in the Hope, of twelve sail. The King and Queens go on board, they say, on Saturday next. Young children of my Lord Sandwich gone with their maids from my mother's, which troubles me—it being, I hear, from Mr. Shepley, with great discontent, saying that, though they buy good meat, yet can never have it before it stinks, which I am ashamed of.

*July 1.* Comes Dr. Burnett, who did write me down some direction what to do, but not with the satisfaction I expected. I did give him a piece, with good hopes, however, that his advice will be of use to me. Upon the 'Change, this day, I saw how uncertain the temper of the people is, that, from our discharging about 200 that lay idle, having nothing to do upon some of our ships, which were ordered to be fitted for service, and their works are now done, the town do talk that the King discharges all his men—200 yesterday, and 800 to-day—and that now he hath got £100,000 in his

hand, he values not a Dutch war. But I undeceived a great many, telling them how it is.

3rd. (Lord's day.) At noon to dinner, where the remains of yesterday's venison, and a couple of brave green geese, which we are fain to eat alone, because they will not keep, which troubled us. Thundering and lightning all the evening, and this year have had the most thunder and lightning, they say, of any in man's memory, and so it is, it seems, in France, and everywhere.

4th. This day the King and the Queen went to visit my Lord Sandwich and the fleet, going forth in the Hope.

6th. Up very betimes, and my wife also, and got us ready; and about eight o'clock, having got some bottles of wine and beer, and neat's tongues, we went to our barge at the Tower, where Mr. Pierce and his wife, and a kinswoman and his sister, and Mrs. Clerke and her sister and cousin were to expect us; and so set out for the Hope, all the way down, playing at cards, and other sports, spending our time pretty merry. Come to the Hope about one, and there showed them all the ships, and had a collation of anchovies, gammon, &c., and after an hour's stay or more, embarked again for home; and so to cards and other sports, till we come to Greenwich, and there Mrs. Clerke, and my wife and I on shore to an alehouse, and so to the barge again, having shown them the

King's pleasure boat; and so home to the Bridge, bringing night home with us; so to the Tower wharf, and home, being very well pleased to-day with the company, especially Mrs. Pierce, who keeps her complexion as well as ever, and hath at this day, I think, the best complexion that ever I saw on any woman, young or old, or child either, all days of my life. Also Mrs. Clerke's kinswoman sings very prettily, but is very confident in it—Mrs. Clerke herself witty, but spoils all in being so conceited, and making so great a flutter with a few fine clothes, and some bad tawdry things worn with them. The reason of Dr. Clerke's not being here was, the King being sick last night, and let blood, and so he durst not come away to-day.

7th. To Whitehall, and there found the Duke and twenty more reading their commission (of which I am, and was also sent to, to come) for the Royal Fishery, which is very large, and a very serious charter it is; but the Company generally so ill fitted for so serious a work, that I do much fear it will come to little. Home, calling for my new books, viz., Sir H. Spillman's "Whole Glossary," Scapula's "Lexicon," and Shakespeare's plays, which I have got money out of my stationer's bills to pay for. The King is pretty well to-day.

8th, To the binder's, and directed the doing of my Chaucer, though they were not full neat enough for me, but pretty well it is; and thence to the clasp-maker's to have it clasped and bossed.

9th. To a Committee for Fishing; but the first thing was swearing to be true to the Company; and we were all sworn, but a great dispute we had, which, methought, is very ominous to the Company—some, that we should swear to be true to the best of our power, and others, to the best of our understanding—and carried in the last, though in that we are the least able to serve the Company, because we would not be obliged to attend the business when we can, but when we list.

10th. (Lord's day.) Up, and by water, towards noon, to Somerset House, and walked to my Lord Sandwich's, and there dined with my Lady and the children. After dinner, took our leaves, and my wife hers, in order to her going to the country to-morrow. My Lady showed us my Lady Castlemaine's picture, finely done, given my Lord; and a most beautiful picture it is. Thence with my Lady Jemima, and Mr. Sidney [Montagu], to St. Giles's Church, and there heard a long, poor sermon. Thence set them down, and in their coach to Kate Joyce's christening, where much company and good service of sweetmeats, and, after an hour's stay, left them, and in my Lord's coach—his noble, rich coach—home.

11th. Betimes up this morning, and getting ready, we by coach to Holborn, where, at nine o'clock, they set out, and I and my man Will on horseback by my wife to Barnet; a very pleasant day; and there dined

with her company, which was very good—a pretty gentlewoman with her, that goes but to Huntingdon, and a neighbour to us in town. Here we stayed two hours, and then parted for all together, and my poor wife I shall soon want, I am sure. Thence I and Will to see the Wells, half a mile off, and there I drank three glasses, and walked, and came back and drank two more; and so we rode home, round by Kingsland, Hackney, and Mile End, till we were quite weary; and, not being very well, I betimes to bed.

About eleven o'clock, knowing what money I have in the house, and hearing a noise, I began to sweat worse and worse, till I melted almost to water. I rung, and could not in half an hour make either of the wenches hear me; and this made me fear the more lest they might be gagged: and then I began to think that there was some design in a stone being flung at the window over our stairs this evening, by which the thieves meant to try what looking there would be after them, and know our company. These thoughts and fears I had, and do hence apprehend the fears of all rich men that are covetous, and have much money by them. At last, Jane rose, and then I understood it was only the dog wants a lodging, and so made a noise.

12th. Called up by my Lord Peterborough's gentleman, about getting his Lord's money to-day of Mr. Povy, wherein I took such order, that it was paid, and I had my £50 brought me, which comforts my heart.

Dined alone; sad for want of company, and not being very well, and know not how to eat alone.

14th. I rose a little after four o'clock, and abroad. Walked to my Lord's, and nobody up, but the porter rose out of bed to me; so I back again to Fleet Street, and there bought a little book of law; and thence hearing a Psalm sung, I went into St. Dunstan's, and there heard prayers read, which, it seems, is done there every morning at six o'clock, a thing I never did do at a chapel, except the College chapel, in all my life. Thence to my Lord's again, and my Lord being up, was sent for up, and he and I alone. He did begin with a most solemn profession of the same confidence in and love for me that he ever had, and then told me what a misfortune was fallen upon me and him: on me, by a displeasure which my Lord Chancellor did show to him last night against me, in the highest and most passionate manner that ever any man did speak, even to the not hearing of anything to be said to him; but he told me, that he did say all that could be said for a man as to my faithfulness and duty to his Lordship, and did me the greatest right imaginable. And what should the business be, but that I should be forward to have the trees in Clarendon Park marked and cut down, which he, it seems, hath bought of my Lord Albermarle; when, God knows! I am the most innocent man in the world in it, and did nothing of myself, nor knew of his concernment therein, but

barely obeyed my Lord Treasurer's warrant for the doing thereof. And said that I did most ungentlemanly-like with him, and had justified the rogues in cutting down a tree of his; and that I had sent the veriest fanatic [Deane] that is in England to mark them, on purpose to nose him. All which, I did assure my Lord, was most properly false, and nothing like it true; and told my Lord the whole passage. My Lord do seem most nearly affected with him, partly, I believe, for me, and partly for himself. So he advised me to wait presently upon my Lord, and clear myself in the most perfect manner I could, with all submission and assurance that I am his creature both in this and all other things, and that I do own that all I have is derived through my Lord Sandwich from his Lordship. So, full of horror, I went, and found him busy in trials of law in his great room; and, it being Sitting-day, durst not stay, but went to my Lord and told him so, whereupon he directed me to take him after dinner; and so away I home, leaving my Lord mightily concerned for me. So I to my Lord Chancellor's, and there, coming out after dinner, I accosted him, telling him that I was the unhappy Pepys that had fallen into his high displeasure, and come to desire him to give me leave to make myself better understood to his Lordship, assuring him of my duty and service. He answered me very pleasingly, that he was confident upon the score of my Lord Sandwich's character of me, but that he had reason to



think what he did, and desired me to call upon him some evening: I named to-night, and he accepted of it. To my Lord Chancellor's, and there heard several trials, wherein I perceive my Lord is a most able and ready man. After all done, he himself called, "Come, Mr. Pepys, you and I will take a turn in the garden." So he was led downstairs, having the gout, and there walked with me, I think above an hour, talking most friendly yet cunningly. I told him clearly how things were; how ignorant I was of his Lordship's concernment in it; how I did not do, nor say, one word singly, but what was done was the act of the whole Board. He told me by name that he was more angry with Sir G. Carteret than with me, and also with the whole body of the Board. But, thinking who it was of the Board that did know him least, he did place his fear upon me, but he finds that he is indebted to none of his friends there. I think I did thoroughly appease him, till he thanked me for my desire and pains to satisfy him; and upon my desiring to be directed who I should of his servants advise with about this business, he told me nobody, but would be glad to hear from me himself. He told me he would not direct me in anything, that it might not be said that the Lord Chancellor did labour to abuse the King, or, as I offered, direct the suspending the report of the Purveyors; but I see what he means, and will make it my work to do him service in it. But, Lord! to see how he is incensed

against poor Deane, as a fanatic rogue, and I know not what: and what he did was done in spite to his Lordship among all his friends and tenants. He did plainly say that he would not direct me in anything, for he would not put himself into the power of any man to say that he did so and so, but plainly told me, as if he would be glad I did something. Lord! to see how we poor wretches dare not do the King good service for fear of the greatness of these men. He named Sir G. Carteret, and Sir J. Minnes, and the rest, and that he was as angry with them all as with me. But it was pleasant to think that while he was talking to me, comes into the garden Sir G. Carteret; and my Lord avoided speaking with him, and made him and many others stay expecting him, while I walked up and down above an hour, I think, and would have me walk with my hat on. And yet, after all, there has been so little ground for his jealousy of me, that I am sometimes afraid that he does this only in policy to bring me to his side by scaring me, or else, which is worse, to try how faithful I would be to the King; but I rather think the former of the two. I parted with great assurance how I acknowledged all I had to come from his Lordship, which he did not seem to refuse, but with great kindness and respect parted.

15th. Up, and to my Lord Sandwich's, where he sent for me up, and I did give my Lord an account of what had passed with my Lord Chancellor yesterday,

with which he was pleased, and advised me by all means to go and study in the best manner I could to serve him in this business. After this discourse ended, he began to tell me that he had now pitched upon his day of going to sea upon Monday next, and that he would now give me an account how matters are with him. He told me that his work now in the world is only to keep up his interest at Court, having little hopes to get more considerably, he saying that he hath now about £8,000 per annum. It is true, he says, he oweth about £10,000, but he hath been at great charges in getting things to this pass in his estate, besides his building and good goods that he hath bought. He says that he hath now evened his reckonings at the Wardrobe till Michaelmas last, and hopes to finish it to Lady-day before he goes. He says now there is due, too, £7,000 to him there, if he knew how to get paid, besides £2,000 that Mr. Montagu do owe him. As to his interest, he says that he hath had all the injury done him that ever man could have by another bosom friend that knows all his secrets, by Mr. Montagu; but he says that the worst of it all is past, and he gone out and hated, his very person by the King, and he believes the more upon the score of his carriage to him; nay, that the Duke of York did say a little while since in his closet, that he did hate him because of his ungrateful carriage to my Lord of Sandwich. He says that he is as great with the Chan-

cellor, or greater, than ever in his life. That with the King he is the like; and he told me an instance, that whereas he formerly was of the private council to the King before he was last sick, and that by the sickness an interruption was made in his attendance upon him; the King did not constantly call him, as he used to do, to his private council, only in businesses of the sea and the like; but of late the King did send a message to him by Sir Harry Bennet, to excuse the King to my Lord that he had not of late sent for him as he used to do to his private council, for it was not out of any distaste, but to avoid giving offence to some others whom he did not name; but my Lord supposes it might be Prince Rupert, or it may be only that the King would rather pass it by an excuse than be thought unkind, but that now he did desire him to attend him constantly, which of late he hath done, and the King never more kind to him in his life than now. The Duke of York as much as is possible; and in the business of late, when I was to speak to my Lord about his going to sea, he says that he finds the Duke did it with the greatest ingenuity and love in the world; "and whereas," says my Lord, "here is a wise man hard by that thinks himself so, and, it may be, is in a degree so, naming by-and-by my Lord Crewe, would have had me condition with him that neither Prince Rupert nor anybody should come over his head, and I know not what." The Duke himself hath

caused, in his commission, that he be made admiral of this and what other ships or fleets shall hereafter be put out after these, which is very noble. He tells me, in these cases, and that of Mr. Montagu's, and all other's, he finds that bearing of them patiently is the best way, without noise or trouble, and things wear out of themselves and come fair again. But says he takes it from me, never to trust too much to any man in the world, for you put yourself into his power, and the best seeming friend and real friend, as to the present, may have or take occasion to fall out with you, and then out comes all. Then he told me of Sir Harry Bennet, though they were always kind, yet now it is become to an acquaintance and familiarity above ordinary, that for these months he hath done no business but with my Lord's advice in his chamber, and promises all faithful love to him and service upon all occasions. My Lord says, that he hath the advantage of being able, by his experience, to help out and advise him, and he believes that that chiefly do invite Sir Harry to this manner of treating him. "Now," says my Lord, "the only and the greatest embarrassment that I have in the world is, how to behave myself to Sir H. Bennet and my Lord Chancellor, in case that there do lie anything under the embers about my Lord Bristol, which nobody can tell; for then," says he, "I must appear for one or other, and I will lose all I have in the world rather than desert my Lord

Chancellor; so that," says he, "I know not for my life, what to do in that case." For Sir H. Bennet's love is come to the height, and his confidence, that he hath given my Lord a character, and will oblige my Lord to correspond with him. "This," says he, "is the whole condition of my estate and interest, which I tell you, because I know not whether I shall see you again or no." Then, as to the voyage, he thinks it will be of charge to him and no profit; but that he must not now look after nor think to increase, but study to make good what he hath, that what is due to him from the Wardrobe, or elsewhere, may be paid, which otherwise would fail, and all a man hath be but small content to him. So we seemed to take leave one of another; my Lord of me, desiring me that I would write to him, and give him information upon all occasions in matters that concern him, which, put together with what he preambled with yesterday, makes me think that my Lord do truly esteem me still, and desires to preserve my service to him, which I do bless God for. In the middle of our discourse, my Lady Crewe came in, to bring my Lord word that he hath another son, my Lady being brought to bed just now, for which God be praised! and send my Lord to study the laying up of something the more! Thence with Creed to St. James's, and, missing Mr. Coventry, to Whitehall, where, staying for him in one of the galleries, there comes out of the chair-room Mrs.

Stewart, in a most lovely form, with her hair all about her ears, having her picture taking there. There was the King and twenty more, I think, standing by all the while, and a lovely creature she in the dress seemed to be.

16th. To the Tangier Committee, and there, above my expectation, got the business of our contract for the victualling carried for my people, viz., Alsopp, Lanyon, and Kabsey; and by their promise I do thereby get £300 per annum to myself, which do overjoy me, and the matter is left to me to draw up. Mr. Coventry did also surprise me with a question why Deane did not bring in their report of the timber of Clarendon. What he means thereby I know not, but at present put him off; nor do I know how to steer myself, but I must think of it, and advise with my Lord Sandwich.

17th. (Lord's day.) After dinner walked to my Lord's, and there found him and much other guests at table at dinner, and it seems they have christened his young son to-day—called him James. I got a piece of cake. Dr. Burnett showed me the manner of eating turpentine, which pleases me well, for it is with great ease.

18th. To my Lord's, and there took my leave of him, he seeming very friendly to me in as serious a manner as ever in his life. He sets out this morning for Deal. Sir G. Carteret and I did talk together in the

Park about my Lord Chancellor's business of the timber, he telling me freely that my Lord Chancellor was never so angry with him in all his life as he was for this business, and in a great passion, and that, when he saw me there, he knew what it was about, and plots now with me how we may serve my Lord, which I am mightily glad of, and I hope together we may do it. Thence home, and Creed with me, and there he took occasion to own his obligations to me, and did lay down twenty pieces of gold upon my shelf in my closet, which I did not refuse, but wish and expected should have been more. Now I am out of expectation, and shall henceforward know how to deal with him. After discourse, we went out by coach, and we alight at the Temple, and then he took final leave of me, in order to his following my Lord to-morrow. Thence to my Lord Chancellor, and discoursed his business with him. I perceive, and he says plainly, that he will not have any man to have it in his power to say that my Lord Chancellor did contrive the wronging the King of his timber, but yet, I perceive, he would be glad to have service done him therein; and told me Sir G. Carteret hath told him that he and I would look after his business, to see it done in the best manner for him.

19th. Coming to the rope-yard at Woolwich, we are told that Mr. Falconer, who hath been ill of a relapse these two days, is just now dead. We went up to his



widow, who is sick in bed also. The poor woman in great sorrow, and entreats our friendship, which we shall, I think, in everything do for her. I am sure I will.

20th. With Mr. Deane, discoursing upon the business of my Lord Chancellor's timber, in Clarendon Park, and how to make a report therein without offending him, which at last I drew up, and hope it will please him. But I would to God neither I nor he ever had anything to have done with it! To Whitehall, to the Committee for Fishing, but nothing done, it being a great day to-day there upon drawing at the lottery of Sir Arthur Slingsby. I got in, and stood by the two Queens and the Duchess of York, and just behind my Lady Castlemaine, whom I do heartily admire, and good sport to see how most that did give their ten pounds did go away with a pair of gloves only for their lot, and one gentlewoman, one Mrs. Fish, with the only blank. And one I stayed to see, drew a suit of hangings valued at £430, and they say are well worth the money, or near it. One other suit there is better than that, but very many lots of three and four-score pounds. I observed the King and Queen did get but as poor lots as any else. But the wisest man I met with was Mr. Cholmley, who insured as many as would, from the drawing of the one blank for 12d.; in which case there was the whole number of persons to one, which, I think, was three or four hundred.

And so he insured about 200 for 200 shillings, so he could not have lost if one of them had drawn it, for there was enough to pay the £10: but it happened another drew it, and so he got all the money he took.

I left the lottery, and went to a play—only a piece of it, which was at the Duke's house, *Worse and Worse*, just the same manner of play, and written, I believe, by the same man as *The Adventures of Five Hours*. Very pleasant it was, and I begin to admire Harris more than ever.

21st. This morning to the office. Comes Nicholas Osborne, Mr. Gauden's clerk, to desire of me what piece of plate I would choose to have of £100, or thereabouts, bestowed upon me, he having order to lay out so much, and, out of his freedom with me, do of himself come to make this question. I a great while urged my unwillingness to take any, not knowing how I could serve Mr. Gauden, but left it wholly to himself; so at noon I find brought home in fine leather cases a pair of the noblest flagons that ever I saw all the days of my life; whether I shall keep them or no I cannot tell, for it is to oblige me to him in the business of the Tangier victualling, wherein I doubt I shall not; but glad I am to see that I shall be sure to get something on one side or other, have it which will: so, with a merry heart, I looked upon them and locked them up. After dinner to give my Lord Chancellor a good account of his business, and he is very well pleased

therewith, and carries himself with great discretion to me, without seeming any way glad or beholding to me; and yet I know that he does think himself so.

22nd. To Deptford. Coming too soon, I spent an hour in looking round the yard, and putting Mr. Shish to measure a piece or two of timber, which he did most cruelly wrong, and to the King's loss 12s. or 13s. in a piece of 28 feet in contents. Thence to the Clerk of the Cheques, from whose house Mr. Falconer was buried to-day—Sir J. Minnes and I the only principal officers that were there. We walked to church with him, and then I left them without staying the sermon, and at night home; and there find, as I expected, Mr. Hill and Andrews, and one slovenly and ugly fellow, Signor Pedro, who sings Italian songs to the theorbo most neatly; and they spent the whole evening in singing the best piece of music counted of all hands in the world, made by Signor Charissimi, the famous master in Rome. Fine it was indeed, and too fine for me to judge of. Comes Mr. Lanyon, who tells me Mr. Alsopp is now become dangerously ill, and fears his recovery, which shakes my expectation of £300. per annum by the business; and, therefore, bless God for what Mr. Gauden hath sent me, which, from some discourse to-day with Mr. Osborne, swearing that he knows not anything of this business of the victualling; but the contrary, that it is not that that moves Mr. Gauden to me, for he hath had order for it any time

these two months. Whether this be true or not, I know not, but I shall hence with the more confidence keep it.

23rd. I took occasion to break the business of my Lord Chancellor's timber to Mr. Coventry in the best manner I could. He professed to me that, till Sir G. Carteret did speak of it at the table, after our officers were gone to survey it, he did not know that my Lord Chancellor had anything to do with it; but now he says that he had been told by the Duke that Sir G. Carteret had spoken to him about it, and that he had told the Duke that, were he in my Lord Chancellor's case, if he were his father, he would rather fling away the gains of £2,000 or £3,000, than have it said that the timber, which should have been the King's, if it had continued the Duke of Albemarle's, was concealed by us in favour of my Lord Chancellor; for, says he, he is a great man, and all such as he, and he himself particularly, have a great many enemies that would be very glad of such an advantage against him; and that he would speak to the Duke, that he and Sir G. Carteret might be appointed to attend my Lord Chancellor in it. All this disturbs me mightily. I know not what to say to it, nor how to carry myself therein; for a compliance will discommend me to Mr. Coventry, and a discompliance to my Lord Chancellor. But I think to let it alone, or at least meddle in it as little more as I can.

25th. Met with a printed copy of the King's commission for the repair of St. Paul's, which is very large, and large power for collecting money, and recovering of all people that had bought or sold formerly anything belonging to the church. And here I find my Lord Mayor of the city set in order before the Archbishop or any nobleman, though all the greatest officers of the State are there. But yet I do not hear, by my Lord Barkeley, who is one of them, that anything is like to come of it. No news, only the plague is very hot still, and increases among the Dutch.

26th. To Anthony Joyce's, to our gossip's dinner. I had sent a dozen and a half bottles of wine thither, and paid my double share besides, which is 18s. Very merry we were. Great discourse of the fray yesterday in Moorfields, how the butchers at first did beat the weavers, between whom there hath been ever an old competition for mastery, but at last the weavers rallied and beat them. At first the butchers knocked down all for weavers that had green or blue aprons, till they were fain to pull them off and put them in their breeches. At last the butchers were fain to pull off their sleeves, that they might not be known, and were soundly beaten out of the field, and some deeply wounded and bruised; till at last the weavers went out triumphing, calling £100 for a butcher.

27th. To Whitehall, where anon the Duke of York came, and a committee we had of Tangier, where I

read over my rough draught for the Tangier victualling, and acquainted them with the death of Mr. Alsopp, which Mr. Lanyon had told me this morning, which is a sad consideration to see how uncertain our lives are, and how little to be presumed of in our greatest undertakings.

28th. Home and then abroad, and seeing *The Bondman* upon the posts, I went to the Duke's house and saw it acted. It is true, for want of practice, they have many of them forgot their parts a little; but Betterton and my poor Ianthe [Mrs. Betterton?] outdo all the world. There is nothing more taking in the world with me than that play. I am overjoyed in hopes that, upon this month's account, I shall find myself worth £1,000, besides the rich present of two silver and gilt flagons, which Mr. Gauden did give me the other day. My Lord Sandwich newly gone to sea; and he did before his going, and by his letter since, show me all manner of respect and confidence.

30th. To the 'Change, where great talk of a rich present brought by an East India ship, from some of the Princes of India, worth to the King £70,000, in two precious stones, by which, at least, I hope to be £100 or £200 the better. This afternoon, with great content, I finished the contract for victualling of Tangier with Mr. Lanyon and the rest; and to my comfort, got him and Andrews to sign to the giving me £300 per annum.

31st. (Lord's day.) Up, and to church, where I have not been these many weeks.

*August 1.* To the coffee-house, and there all the house full of the victory General Soushe, who is a Frenchman, a soldier of fortune, commanding part of the German army, hath had against the Turks; killing 4,000 men and taking most extraordinary spoil. Thence taking up Harman and his wife, carried them to Anthony Joyce's, where he had my venison in a pasty well done; but, Lord! to see how much they made of it, as if they had never ate any before: and very merry we were. Mrs. Harman is a very pretty, humoured wretch, whom I could love with all my heart, being so good and innocent company. Last night I was waked with knocking at Sir W. Pen's door; and what was it but people running up and down to bring him word that his brother (Captain Pen), who hath been a good while, it seems, sick, is dead.

2nd. To the King's play-house, and there saw *Bartholomew Fair*, which do still please me; and is, as it is acted, the best comedy in the world, I believe. I chanced to sit by Tom Killigrew, who tells me that he is setting up a nursery (for actors); that is, is going to build a house in Moorfields, wherein he will have common plays acted. But four operas it shall have in the year, to act six weeks at a time: where we shall have the best scenes and machines, the best music, and everything

as magnificent as is in Christendom ; and to that end, hath sent for voices and painters and other persons from Italy. Thence homeward called upon my Lord Marlborough.

4th. To a play at the King's house, *The Rival Ladies*, a very innocent and most pretty witty play. I was much pleased with it, and, it being given me, I look upon it as no breach of my oath. Here we hear that Clun, one of their best actors, was the last night going out of town, after he had acted the Alchemist, wherein was one of his best parts that he acts, to his country-house, set upon and murdered ; one of the rogues taken, an Irish fellow : it seems he was most cruelly butchered and bound. The house will have a great miss of him. Thence visited my Lady Sandwich, who tells me my Lord Fitzhardinge is to be made a Marquis.

5th. About ten o'clock I dressed myself, and so mounted upon a very pretty mare, sent me by Sir W. Warren, according to his promise yesterday. And so through the city, not a little proud, God knows, to be seen upon so pretty a beast, and to my cousin W. Joyce's who presently mounted too, and he and I out of town towards Highgate, in the way at Kentish town, he showing me the place and manner of Clun's being killed and laid in a ditch, and yet was not killed by any wounds, having only one in his arm, but bled to death through his struggling. He told me also the manner



of it, of his going home so late from drinking with his mistress, and manner of having it found out. Thence forward to Barnet, and so by night to Stevenage, it raining a little, and there to my great trouble find that my wife was not come, nor any Stamford coach gone down this week, so that she cannot come. To bed, and after a little sleep, W. Joyce comes in his shirt into my chamber with a note, and a messenger from my wife, that she was come by York coach to Bigglesworth, and would be with us to-morrow morning. So, mightily pleased at her discreet action in this business, to sleep again.

6th. Here lay Dean Honiwood last night. I met and talked with him this morning, and a simple priest he is, though a good well-meaning man. W. Joyce and I took to a game at bowls on the Green there till eight o'clock, and then comes my wife and a coach full of women, only one man riding by. Very joyful, and mounted, and away with them to Welling, and there alight, and dined very well and merry, and glad to see my poor wife. After dinner, out again and to London, all the way the mightiest merry at a couple of young gentlemen come down to meet the same gentlewoman, that ever I was in my life, and so W. Joyce, too, to see how one of them was horsed upon a hard trotting sorrel horse, and both of them soundly wearied and galled. But it is not to be set down how merry we were all the way. We alight in Holborn, and by

another coach home, and found all things well, and most mighty neat and clean.

7th. (Lord's day.) My wife telling me sad stories of the ill, improvident, disquiet, and sluttish manner, that my father and mother and Pall do live in the country, which troubles me mightily, and I must seek to remedy it. Showed my wife, to her great admiration and joy, Mr. Gauden's present of plate, the two flagons, which indeed are so noble that I hardly can think that they are yet mine. I saw several poor creatures carried by, by constables, for being at a conventicle. They go like lambs without any resistance. I would to God they would either conform or be more wise, and not be caught!

8th. After dinner, to hang up my five pictures in my dining-room, which makes it very pretty, and so my wife and I abroad to the King's play-house. Here we saw *Flora's Figaries*. I never saw it before; and, by the most ingenious performance of the young jade Flora, it seemed as pretty a pleasant play as ever I saw.

9th. This day comes the news that the Emperor hath beat the Turks; killed the Grand Vizier and several great Pachas, with an army of 80,000 men killed and routed; with some considerable loss of his own side, having lost three generals, and the French forces all cut off almost; which is thought as good a service to the Emperor as beating the Turks almost.

10th. Abroad to find out one to engrave my tables upon my new sliding rule with silver plates, it being so small, that Browne, that made it, cannot get one to do it. So I got Cocker, the famous writing-master, to do it, and I sat an hour by him to see him design it all; and strange it is to see him, with his natural eyes, to cut so small at his first designing it, and read it all over, without any missing, when for my life I could not with my best skill read one word or letter of it; but it is use. He says that the best light for his life to do a very small thing by, contrary to Chaucer's words to the Sun, "that he should lend his light to them that small seals grave," it should be by an artificial light of a candle, set to advantage, as he could do it, I find the fellow, by his discourse, very ingenious: and, among other things, a great admirer of and well read in the English poets, and undertakes to judge of them all, and that not impertinently. After dinner, Deane and I had great discourse again about my Lord Chancellor's timber, out of which I wish I may get well.

11th. Comes Cocker with my rule, which he hath engraved to admiration, for goodness and smallness of work: it cost me 14s. the doing. This day, for a wager before the King, my Lords of Castlehaven, and Arran, a son of my Lord of Ormond's they two alone did run down and kill a stout buck in St. James's Park.

12th. To Whitehall, and did much business at a Tangier Committee; where, among other things, speaking about propriety of the houses there, and how we ought to let the Portuguese have right done<sup>d</sup> them, as many of them as continue, or did sell the houses while they were in possession, and something further in their favour, the Duke, after an anger I never observed in him before, did cry, says he, "All the world rides us, and I think we shall never ride anybody."

13th. Comes Mr. Reeve with a microscope and scotoscope. For the first I did give him £5 10s., a great price, but a most curious bauble it is, and he says, as good, nay, the best he knows in England. The other he gives me, and is of value; and a curious curiosity it is to discover objects in a dark room with. Mr. Creed dining with me, I got him to give my wife and me a play this afternoon, lending him money to do it, which is a fallacy that I have found now once, to avoid my vow with, but never to be more practised, I swear. To the new play, at the Duke's house, of *Henry the Fifth*; a most noble play, written by my Lord Orreby; wherein Betterton, Harris, and Ianthe's parts are most incomparably wrote and done, and the whole play the most full of height and raptures of wit and sense that ever I heard; having but one incongruity, that King Harry promises to plead for Tudor to their mistress, Princess Katherine of France, more than, when it comes to it, he seems to do; and Tudor refused

by her with some kind of indignity, not with a difficulty and honour that it ought to have been done in to him.

14th. (Lord's day.) Comes Mr. Herbert, Mr. Honiwood's man, and dined with me—a very honest, plain, and well-meaning man I think him to be; and, by his discourse and manner of life, the true emblem of an old ordinary serving-man. By-and-by comes W. Joyce in his silk suit and cloak lined with velvet: stayed talking with me, and I very merry at it. He supped with me; but a cunning crafty fellow he is, and dangerous to displease, for his tongue spares nobody.

15th. With Sir. J. Minnes; he talking of his cures abroad while he was with the King as a doctor. And among others, Sir J. Denham, he told me he had cured to a miracle. At Charing Cross, and there saw the great Dutchman that is come over, under whose arm I went with my hat on, and could not reach higher than his eyebrows with the tip of my fingers. He is a comely and well-made man, and his wife a very little but pretty comely Dutch woman. It is true, he wears pretty high-heeled shoes, but not very high, and do generally wear a turban, which makes him show yet taller than he really is.

16th. Wakened about two o'clock this morning with a noise of thunder, which lasted for an hour, with such continued lightnings, not flashes, but flames, that all the sky and air was light; and that for a great

while, not a minute's space between new flames all the time; such a thing as I never did see, nor could have believed had ever been in nature; and being put into a great sweat with it, could not sleep till all was over; and that accompanied with such a storm of rain as I never heard in my life. I expected to find my house in the morning overflowed; but I find not one drop of rain in my house, nor any news of hurt done.

17th. Sir W. Batten did give me three bottles of his essence water, which I drank, and I found myself mightily cooled with them and refreshed. With Sir Thomas Crewe, who told me how Mr. Edward Montagu is for ever blown up, and now quite out with his father again; to whom he pretended that his going down was, not that he was cast out of the Court, but that he had leave to be absent a month; but now he finds the truth. Mr. Pierce tells me the King do still sup every night with my Lady Castlemaine.

18th. Dined alone at home, my wife going to-day to dine with Mrs. Pierce, and thence with her and Mrs. Clerke to see a new play, *The Court Secret*. My wife says the play is the worst that ever she saw in her life.

19th. To Sir W. Pen's to see his lady the first time, who is a well-looking, fat, short, old Dutchwoman, but one that hath been heretofore pretty handsome, and is now very discreet, and I believe hath more wit than her husband. Here we stayed talking a good while, and very well pleased I was with the old woman. The

news of the Emperor's victory over the Turks is by some doubted, but by most confessed to be very small, though great of what was talked, which was 80,000 men to be killed and taken of the Turk's side.

20th. I walked to Cheapside to see the effect of a fire there this morning since four o'clock; which I find in the house of Mr. Bois, that married Dr. Fuller's niece, who are both out of town, leaving only a maid and man in town. It began in their house, and hath burned much and many houses backward, though none forward, and that in the great uniform pile of buildings in the middle of Cheapside. I am very sorry for them, for the Doctor's sake. Thence to the 'Change, and so home to dinner. And thence to Sir W. Batten's, whither Sir Richard Ford came, the sheriff, who hath been at this fire all the while; and he tells me, upon my question, that he and the Mayor were there, as it is their duties to be, not only to keep the peace, but they have power of commanding the pulling down of any house or houses, to defend the city. By-and-by comes in the common crier of the city to speak with him; and when he was gone, says he, "You may see by this man the constitution of the magistracy of this city; that this fellow's place, I dare give him, if he will be true to me, £1,000 for his profits every year, and expect to get £500 more to myself thereby, when," says he, "I in myself am forced to spend many times as much."

21st. (Lord's day.) Mr. Coventry told us the Duke was gone ill of a fit of an ague to bed; so we sent this morning to see how he does.

23rd. Talking with my wife, and angry about her desiring to have a French maid all of a sudden, which I took to arise from yesterday's being with her mother. But that went over, and so she be well qualified, I care not much whether she be French or no, so a Protestant. I went into New Bridewell, on my way to Mr. Cole, and there I saw the new model, and it is very handsome: several at work—among others, one pretty strumpet brought in last night, which works very lazily. I did give them 6d. to drink. The Dutch East India fleet are now come home safe, which we are sorry for. Our fleets on both sides are hastening out to Guinea.

24th. To the Wardrobe, and there saw one suit of clothes made for my boy, and linen set out.

25th. Jack Noble came to me to tell me that he had Cave in prison, and that he would give me and my father good security, that neither we nor any of our family should be troubled with the child, for he could prove that he was fully satisfied for him; and that, if the worst come to the worst, the parish must keep it; that Cave did bring the child to his house, but they got it carried back again, and that thereupon he put him in prison. When he saw that I would not pay him the money, nor made anything of being secured against the child, he then said that then he must go to law, not



himself, but come in as a witness for Cave against us. I could have told him that he could bear witness that Cave is satisfied, or else there is no money due to himself; but I let alone any such discourse, only getting as much out of him as I could. I perceive he is a rogue, and hath inquired into everything, and consulted with Dr. Pepys.

26th. By water to Deptford Dockyard, and there saw the new ship in very great forwardness. To Whitehall. There I could not get into the Park, and so was fain to stay in the gallery over the gate to look to the passage into the Park, into which the King hath forbid of late anybody's coming. To see some pictures at one Huysman's, a picture-drawer, a Dutchman, which is said to exceed Lilly; and indeed there is both of the Queens and Maids of Honour, particularly Mrs. Stewart's, in a buff doublet like a soldier, as good pictures, I think, as ever I saw. The Queen is drawn in one like a shepherdess, in the other like St. Catherine, most like and most admirably. I was mightily pleased with this sight indeed. Mr. Pen, Sir William's son, is come back from France, and come to visit my wife; a most modest person, grown, she says, a fine gentleman.

27th. To Cutler's house, and there had a very good dinner; and had two or three pretty young ladies of their relations there. Home, and there find my boy, Tom Edwards, come, sent me by Captain Cook, having

been bred in the King's Chapel these four years. I propose to make a clerk of him; and if he deserves well, to do well by him. Find him a very school-boy that talks innocently and impertinently. All the news this day is that the Dutch are, with twenty-two sail of ships of war, cruising up and down about Ostend, at which we are alarmed. My Lord Sandwich is come back into the Downs with only eight sail, which is, or may be, a prey to the Dutch if they knew our weakness and inability to set out any more speedily.

29th. Mr. Hughes came to speak with me, and told me that as he came this morning from Deptford he left the King's yard afire. So I presently took a boat and down, and there found by God's providence the fire out; but if there had been any wind it must have burned all our stores, which is a most dreadful consideration. Home, and Creed and I met at my Lady Sandwich's and there dined; but my Lady is become as handsome I think as ever she was; and so good and discreet a woman I know not in the world. I must remember that, never since I was a housekeeper, I ever lived so quietly without any noise, or one angry word almost, as I have done since my present maids Bessie, Jane, and Susan came and were together. Now I have taken a boy, and am taking a woman, I pray God we may not be worse!

30th. Comes Mr. Pen to visit me. I perceive some-

thing of learning he hath got, but a great deal, if not too much, of the vanity of the French garb, and affected manner of speech and gait. I fear all real profit he hath made of his travel will signify little.

31st. Casting up my monthly accounts, and, blessed be God! find myself worth £1,020. Prince Rupert, I hear this day, is to go to command this fleet going to Guinea against the Dutch. I doubt few will be pleased with his going, being accounted an unhappy man. Pretty well in health since I left off wearing of a gown within doors all day, and then go back with my legs into the cold, which brought me daily pain.

*September 1.* To the 'Change, and thence brought Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, and Creed, and dined very merry and handsomely; but my wife not being well, she was not with us; and we cut up the great cake Moorcock lately sent us, which is very good.

2nd. To Bartholomew fair, and our boy with us, and there showed them and myself the dancing on the ropes; and several other the best shows; but pretty it is to see how our boy carries himself so innocently clownish as would make one laugh. Then up and down to buy combs for my wife to give her maids.

3rd. I have had a bad night's rest to-night, not sleeping well, as my wife observed; and I thought myself to be mightily bit with fleas, and in the morning she chid her maids for not looking for the fleas a' days. But when I rose I found that it was only the change of

the weather from hot to cold, which, as I was two winters ago, do stop my pores, and so my blood tingles and itches all day all over my body.

4th. (Lord's day.) All the morning looking over my old wardrobe, and laying by things for my brother John and my father, by which I shall leave myself very bare in clothes, but yet as much as I need, and the rest could but spoil in the keeping. Mr. Hill came to be tell me that he had got a gentlewoman for my wife—one Mrs. Ferrabosco, that sings most admirably. I seemed glad of it; but I hear she is too gallant for me, and I am not sorry that I miss her.

5th. With the Duke; where all our discourse of war in the highest measure. Prince Rupert was with us; who is fitting himself to go to sea in the *Heneretta*. And afterwards I met him and Mr. Gray, and says he, "I can answer but for one ship, and in that I will do my part; for it is not in that as in an army, where a man can command everything." Came W. Bowyer, and dined with us; but strange to see how he could not endure Onions in sauce to lamb, but was overcome with the sight of it, and so was forced to make his dinner of an egg or two. To Woolwich, with a galley, all the way reading Sir J. Suckling's *Aglaure*, which methinks, is but a mean play: nothing of design in it.

6th. Called upon Doll, our pretty 'Change woman, for a pair of gloves trimmed with yellow ribbon, to [match] the petticoat my wife bought yesterday,

which cost me 20s.; but she is so pretty, that, God forgive me! I could not think it too much, which is a strange slavery that I stand in to beauty, that I value nothing near it. This day Mr. Coventry did tell us how the Duke did receive the Dutch Ambassador the other day; by telling him that, whereas they think us in jest, he believes that the Prince Rupert, which goes in this fleet to Guinea, will soon tell them that we are in earnest, and that he himself will do the like here in the head of the fleet here at home; and that he did not doubt to live to see the Dutch as fearful of provoking the English, under the government of a King, as he remembers them to have been under that of a Coquin.

7th. With Creed walked to Bartholomew fair—this being the last day, and there I saw the best dancing on the ropes that I think I ever saw in my life.

8th. All haste made in setting out this Guinea fleet, but yet not such as will ever do the King's business, if we come to a war. My wife this afternoon being very well dressed by her new woman, Mary Mercer, a decayed merchant's daughter that our Will helps us to, did go to the christening of Mrs Mills, the parson's wife's child, where she never was before.

9th. Up, and put things in order against dinner. I out and bought some things: among others, a dozen of silver salts; and at noon comes my company, namely Anthony and Will Joyce and their wives; my aunt James, newly come out of Wales, and my cousin Sarah

Gyles. Her husband did not come; and by her I did understand afterwards, that it was because he was not able to pay me the 40s. she had borrowed a year ago of me. I was as merry as I could, giving them a good dinner; but W. Joyce did so talk, that he made everybody else dumb, but only laugh at him. I forgot there was Mr. Harman and his wife, my aunt, a very good harmless woman. All their talk is of her and my two she-cousin Joyces, and Will's little boy Will, who was also here to-day. They eyed mightily my great cupboard of plate—I this day putting my two flagons upon my table; and indeed it is a fine sight, and better than ever I did hope to see of my own. Mercer dined with us at table, this being her first dinner in my house. After dinner, my wife and Mercer, and Tom and I sat till eleven at night, singing and fiddling, and a great joy it is to see me master of so much pleasure in my house. The girl plays pretty well upon the harpsichord, but only ordinary tunes, but hath a good hand; sings a little, but hath a good voice and ear. My boy, a brave boy, sings finely, and is the most pleasant boy at present, while his ignorant boy's tricks last, that I ever saw.

10th. All the morning much troubled to think what the end of our great sluggishness will be; for we do nothing in this office like people able to carry on a war. We must be put out, or other people put in. My wife and I, and Mercer to the Duke's house, and there saw

*The Rivals*, which is no excellent play, but good acting in it; especially Gosnell comes and sings and dances finely; but, for all that, fell out of the key, so that the music could not play to her afterwards; and so did Harris also go out of the time to agree with her. This night I received, by Will, £105, the first fruits of my endeavours in the late contract for victualling of Tangier, for which God be praised! for I can, with a safe conscience, say that I have therein saved the King £5,000 per annum, and yet got myself a hope of £300 per annum, without the least wrong to the King.

11th. (Lord's day.) Up, and to church in the best manner I have gone a good while—that is to say, with my wife and her woman, Mercer, along with us, and Tom, my boy waiting on us. A dull sermon. With Mr. Blagrove, walking in the Abbey, he telling me the whole government and discipline of Whitehall Chapel, and the caution now used against admitting any debauched persons. This afternoon, it seems, Sir J. Minnes fell sick at church, and, going down the gallery stairs, fell down dead, but came to himself again, and is pretty well.

12th. Up, and to my cousin Anthony Joyce's, and there took leave of my aunt James, and both cousins, their wives, who are this day going down to my father's by coach. I did give my aunt 20s. to carry as a token to my mother, and 10s. to Pall. With the Duke; and

saw him with great pleasure play with his little girl, like an ordinary private father of a child. To Mr. Creed's lodgings, talking mightily of the convenience and necessity of a man's wearing good clothes after eating a mess of cream.

13th. To Fishmongers' Hall, where we met the first time upon the Fishery Committee, and many good things discoursed of, concerning making of farthings, which was proposed as a way of raising money for this business, and then that of lotteries, but with great confusion; but I hope we shall fall into greater order.

15th. After dinner many people came in and kept me all the afternoon: among others, the Master and Wardens of Surgeons' Hall, who stayed arguing their cause with me.

16th. Mr. Gauden coming to me, I had a good opportunity to speak to him about his present, which hitherto hath been a burden to me, because I was doubtful that he meant it as a temptation to me to stand by him in the business of Tangier victualling; but he clears me it was not, and that what he did was for my old kindnesses to him and dispatching of his business. Met Sir W. Warren; and afterwards to the "Sun" tavern, where he brought to me, being all alone, a £100 in a bag, which I offered him to give him my receipt for, but he told me no, it was my own, which he had a little while since promised me; and so most kindly he did give it me, and I as joyfully, even



out of myself, carried it home in a coach—he himself expressly taking care that nobody might see this business done, though I was willing enough to have carried a servant with me to have received it, but he advised me to do it myself. Met Mr. Pargiter, and he would needs have me drink a cup of horseradish ale, which he and a friend of his, troubled with the stone, have been drinking of, which we did, and then walked into the fields as far almost as Sir G. Whitmore's, all the way talking of Russia, which, he says, is a sad place; and though Moscow is a very great city, yet it is from the distance between house and house, and few people compared with this, and poor, sorry houses, the Emperor himself living in a wooden house; his exercise only flying a hawk at pigeons, and carrying pigeons ten or twelve miles off, and then laying wagers which pigeon shall come soonest home to her house. All the winter within doors, some few playing at chess, but most drinking their time away. Women live very slavishly there, and, it seems, in the Emperor's court, no room hath above two or three windows, and those the greatest not a yard wide or high, for warmth in winter time, and that the general cure for all diseases there is their sweating-houses; or people, that are poor they get into their ovens, being heated, and there lie. Little learning among them of any sort. Not a man that speaks Latin, unless the Secretary of State by chance. Old Hardwicke came and redeemed a watch

he had left with me in pawn for 40s. seven years ago, and I let him have it.

18th. (Lord's day.) Last night my aunt Wight did send my wife a new scarf, laced, as a token for her many givings to her; but my aim is to get myself something more from my uncle's favour than this.

19th. My wife having put on to-day her winter new suit of moire, which is handsome, after dinner I did give her £15 to lay out in linen and necessities for the house, and to buy a suit for Pall. Dr. Pierce tells me, when I was wondering that Frazer should order things with the Prince in that confident manner, that Frazer is so great with my Lady Castlemaine, and Stewart, and all the ladies at Court, in helping to slip their calves when there is occasion, and with the great men in curing of them, that he can do what he please with the King, in spite of any man, and upon the same score with the Prince; they all having more or less occasion to make use of him. Colonel Reames did this day tell me how it is clear that, if my Lord Teviott had lived, he would have quite undone Tangier, or designed himself to be master of it. He did put the King upon most great, chargeable, and unnecessary works there; and took the course industriously to deter all other merchants but himself to deal there, and to make both King and all others pay what he pleased for all that was brought thither.

20th. Met Captain Poyntz, who hath some place, or

title to a place, belonging to gaming. I discoursed with him about our business of improving of the Lotteries, for the King's benefit, and that of the Fishery, and had some light from him in the business. I find with great delight that I am come to my good temper of business again. God continue me in it!

21st. To Huysman's, the great picture-drawer, and saw again very fine pictures, and have his promise, for Mr. Povy's sake, to take pains in what picture I shall set him about, and I think to have my wife's. To Povy's to dinner, where great and good company; among others, Sir John Skeffington, whom I knew at Magdalene College, a fellow commoner, my fellow pupil, but one with whom I had no great acquaintance, he being then, God knows! much above me.

22nd. My wife not well, and she tells me she thinks she is with child, but I neither believe nor desire it. But God's will be done! Home to bed; having got a strange cold in my head by flinging off my hat at a dinner, and sitting with the wind in my neck.

23rd. Comes Mr. Fuller, that was the wit of Cambridge, and Prævaricator in my time, and stayed all the morning with me discoursing, and his business to get a man discharged, which I did do for him. To the office, where Sir G. Carteret and we met about an order of the Council for the hiring him a house, giving him £1,000 fine, and £70 per annum for it. Here Sir J. Minnes took occasion, in the most childish and most

unbecoming manner, to reproach us all, but most himself, that he was not valued as Comptroller among us, nor did anything but only set his hand to paper, which is but too true, and everybody had a palace, and he no house to lie in, and wished he had but as much to build him a house with, as we have laid out in carved work. It was to no end to oppose, but all bore it, and after laughed at him for it.

24th. Comes one Phillips, who is concerned in the Lottery, and from whom I collected much concerning that business. He told me that Monsieur du Puy, that is so great a man at the Duke of York's, and this man's great opponent, is a knave, and by quality but a tailor. We were told to-day of a Dutch ship of 300 or 400 tons, where all the men were dead of the plague, and the ship cast ashore at Gottenburg.

25th. (Lord's day.) My throat being yet very sore, and my head out of order, went not to church, but spent all the morning reading of *The Mad Lovers*, a very good play. Read another play, *The Custom of the Country*, which is a very poor one, methinks.

26th. I have looked a little too much after Tangier and the Fishery, and that in the sight of Mr. Coventry; but I have good reason to love myself for serving Tangier, for it is one of the best flowers in my garden.

28th. My Lord Rutherford would needs carry me and another Scotch Lord to a play, and so we saw,

coming late, part of *The General*, my Lord Orrery Broghill's second play; but Lord! to see how no more either in words, sense, or design, it is to his *Harry the V.*, is not imaginable, and so poorly acted, though in finer clothes, is strange. My mind at a great loss how to go down to Brampton this week to satisfy Pigott; but, what with the fears of my house, my money, my wife, and my office, I know not how in the world to think of it; Tom Hater being out of town, and I having near £1,000 in my house.

29th. After dinner, to Sir G. Carteret, and with him to his new house he is taking in Broad Street, and there surveyed all the rooms and bounds, in order to the drawing up a lease thereof; and that done, Mr. Cutler, his landlord, took me up and down, and showed me all his ground and house, which is extraordinary great, he having bought all the Augustine Pryors, and many, many a £1,000 he hath, and will bury there. Fresh news come of our beating the Dutch at Guinea, quite out of all their castles almost, which will make them quite mad here at home sure. And Sir G. Carteret did tell me that the King do joy mightily at it: but asked him, laughing, "But," says he, "how shall I do to answer this to the Ambassador when he comes?" Nay, they say that we have beat them out of the New Netherlands, too; so that we have been doing them mischief for a great while in several parts of the world, without public knowledge or reason.

Their fleet for Guinea is now, they say, ready and abroad, and will be going this week.

30th. At my accounts, it being a great month both for profit and layings out—the last being £89 for kitchen and clothes for myself and wife, and a few extraordinaries for the house; and my profits, besides salary, £239; so that I have this week, notwithstanding great layings out, and preparations for laying out, which I make as paid this month, my balance to come to £1,203.

*October 1.* We go now on with vigour in preparing against the Dutch: who, they say, will now fall upon us without doubt upon this high news come of our beating them so wholly in Guinea.

2nd. (Lord's day.) Walked with my boy through the city, putting in at several churches, among others at Bishopsgate, and there saw the picture usually put before the King's book, put up in the church, but very ill painted, though it were a pretty piece to set up in a church. I intended to have seen the Quakers, who, they say, do meet every Lord's day at the Mouth, at Bishopsgate; but I could see none stirring, nor was it fit to ask for the place; so I walked over Moorfields, and thence to Clerkenwell church, and there, as I wished, sat next pew to the fair Butler, who indeed is a most perfect beauty still; and one I do very much admire myself for my choice of her for a beauty, having the best lower part of her face that ever I saw

all days of my life. After church, I walked to my Lady Sandwich's, through my Lord Southampton's new buildings in the fields behind Gray's Inn; and, indeed, they are a very great and a noble work. My Lady asked me my opinion about Creed, whether he would have a wife or no, and proposed Mrs. Wright for him, which, she says, she heard he was once inquiring after. She desired I would take a good time and manner of proposing it, and I said I would, though I believed he would love nothing but money, and much was not to be expected there, she said. So away back to Clerkenwell church, and so we walked all over the fields home, and there my wife was angry with me for not coming home, and for gadding abroad to look after beauties.

3rd. With Sir J. Minnes by coach to St. James's; and there all the news now of very hot preparations for the Dutch: and, being with the Duke, he told us he was resolved to take a trip himself, and that Sir W. Pen should go in the same ship with him. Which honour, God forgive me! I could grudge him, for his knavery and dissimulation, though I do not envy much the having the same place myself. Talk also of great haste in the getting out another fleet, and building some ships; and now it is likely we have put one another's dalliance past a retreat.

4th. This morning Sir W. Pen went to Chatham to look after the ships now going out thence, and par-

ticularly that wherein the Duke and himself go. He took Sir G. Ascue with him, whom, I believe, he hath brought into play. After dinner to a play, to see *The General*; which is so dull and so ill acted, that I think it is the worst I ever saw or heard in all my days. I happened to sit near to Sir Charles Sedley; who I find a very witty man, and he did at every line take notice of the dulness of the poet, and badness of the action, and that most pertinently, which I was mightily taken with.

5th. To New Bridowell, and there I did with great pleasure see the many pretty works, and the little children employed, every one to do something, which was a very fine sight, and worthy encouragement. Fell in discourse with the Secretary of the Virtuosi of Gresham College. He tells me of a new-invented instrument to be tried before the College anon, and I intend to see it. So to Trinity House, and there I dined among the old dull fellows. Comes Mr. Cocker to see me, and I discoursed with him about his writing and ability of sight, and how I shall do to get some glass or other to help my eyes by candlelight; and he tells me he will bring me the helps he hath within a day or two and show me what he does. To the music meeting at the Post-office, where I was once before. And thither anon came all the Gresham College, and a great deal of noble company: and the new instrument was bought called the arched vial, where, being tuned



with lute strings and played on with keys like an organ, a piece of parchment is always kept moving; and the strings, which by the keys are pressed down upon it, are grated in imitation of a bow by the parchment; and so it is intended to resemble several vials played on with one bow, but so basely and so harshly that it will never do. But after three hours' stay it could not be fixed in tune; and so they were fain to go to some other music of instruments. This morning by three o'clock, the Prince, and King and Duke with him, went down the river, and the Prince under sail the next tide after, and so is gone from the Hope. God give him better success than he used to have!

7th. Come Mr. Cocker, and brought me a globe of glass and a frame of oiled paper, as I desired, to show me the manner of his gaining light to grave by, and to lessen the glaringness of it at pleasure by an oiled paper. This I bought of him, giving him a crown for it; and so well satisfied he went away.

9th. (Lord's day.) Mr. Fuller, my Cambridge acquaintance, coming, he told me he was to preach at Barking church, and so I to hear him, and he preached well and neatly. To bed without prayers, it being cold, and to-morrow washing-day.

10th. Sir W. Pen do grow every day more and more regarded by the Duke, because of his service heretofore in the Dutch war, which I am confident is by some strong obligations he hath laid upon Mr. Coven-

try; for Mr. Coventry must needs know that he is a man of very mean parts, but only a bred seaman. Sat up till past twelve at night to look over the account of the collections for the Fishery, and to the loose and base manner that moneys so collected are disposed of in, would make a man never part with a penny in that manner; and above all, the inconvenience of having a great man, though never so seeming pious as my Lord Pembroke is. He is too great to be called to an account, and is abused by his servants, and yet obliged to defend them for his own sake. This day, by the blessing of God, my wife and I have been married nine years; but my head being full of business, I did not think of it to keep it in any extraordinary manner. But bless God for our long lives, and loves, and health together, which the same God long continue, I wish from my very heart!

11th. Luellin tells me what an obscene, loose play this *Parson's Wedding* is, that is acted by nothing but women at the King's house. To the Fishery in Thames Street, and there several good discourses about the letting of the Lotteries, and, among others, one Sir Thomas Clifford, whom yet I knew not, do speak very well and neatly. My wife tells me the sad news of my Lady Castlemaine's being now become so decayed that one would not know her; at least far from a beauty, which I am sorry for. This day, with great joy, Captain Titus told us the particulars of the French

expedition against Gigerly upon the Barbary coast, in the Straits with 6,000 chosen men. They have taken the fort of Gigerly, wherein were five men and three guns, which makes the whole story of the King of France's policy and power to be laughed at.

12th. For news, all say De Ruyter is gone to Guinea before us. Sir J. Lawson is come to Portsmouth, and our fleet is hastening all speed: I mean, this new fleet. Prince Rupert with his is got into the Downs.

13th. Taking leave of my wife, I by coach to the "Red Lion" in Aldersgate Street, and there, by agreement, met W. Joyce and Tom Trice, and mounted—I upon a very fine mare that Sir W. Warren helps me to—and so very merrily rode till it was very dark, I leading the way through the dark to Welling, and there to supper and to bed; but very bad accommodation at the "Swan." In my way to Brompton, in this day's journey, I met with Mr. White, Cromwell's chaplain that was, and had a great deal of discourse with him. Among others, he tells me that Richard is, and hath long been, in France, and is now going into Italy. He owns publicly that he does correspond with him, and returns him all his money. That Richard hath been in some straits in the beginning, but relieved by his friends. That he goes by another name, but do not disguise himself, nor deny himself to any man that challenges him. He tells me, for certain, that offers had been made to the old man of marriage between the

King and his daughter to have obliged him, but he would not. He thinks, with me, that it never was in his power to bring in the King with the consent of any of his officers about him; and that he scorned to bring him in as Monk did, to secure himself and deliver everybody else. When I told him of what I found written in a French book of one Monsieur Sorbière, that gives an account of his observations here in England; among other things, he says, that it is reported that Cromwell did in his life-time transpose many of the bodies of the kings of England from one grave to another, and that, by that means, it is not known certainly whether the head that is now set up upon a post be that of Cromwell or of one of the kings; Mr. White tells me that he believes he never had so poor a low thought in him to trouble himself about it. He says the hand of God is much to be seen; and that all his children are in good condition enough as to estate, and that their relations that betrayed their family are all now either hanged or very miserable.

14th. Up by break of day, and got to Brampton by three o'clock where my father and mother overjoyed to see me, my mother ready to weep every time she looked upon me. To the [Manorial] Court, and there did all our business to my mind. So home, and after supper I to bed.

15th. My father and I up, and walked alone to Hinchinbroke; and among the late chargeable works

that my Lord hath done there, we saw his waterworks, which are very fine; and so is the house all over, but I am sorry to think of the money at this time spent therein. Taking leave, W. Joyce and I set out, calling on T. Trice at Bugden, and got by night to Stevenage, and there mighty merry, though I in bed, more weary than the other two days, which I think proceeded from our galloping so much; but I find that a coney skin in my breeches preserves me perfectly from galling.

16th. (Lord's day.) It raining, we set out betimes, and about nine o'clock got to Hatfield in church-time, and I alight, and saw my simple Lord Salisbury sit there in the gallery. To Barnet, and there dined at the "Red Lion;" thence home by four o'clock, weary, but very well.

18th. We made a very great contract with Sir W. Warren for 3,000 load of timber. In the afternoon to the Fishery, where very confused and very ridiculous my Lord Craven's proceedings, especially his finding fault with Sir J. Collaton and Colonel Griffin's report in the accounts of the lottery-men. Thence I with Mr. Gray in his coach to Whitehall; but the King and Duke being abroad, we returned to Somerset House. I find him a very worthy and studious gentleman in the business of trade. He says that it is concluded, among merchants, that where a trade hath once been and do decay it never recovers again; and, therefore, that the manufacture of cloth of England will never

come to esteem again; that, among other faults, Sir Richard Ford cannot keep a secret: that Sir Ellis Layton is, for a speech of forty words, the wittiest man that ever he knew in his life, but longer he is nothing. At Somerset House I saw the Queen Dowager's new rooms, which are most stately and nobly furnished; and there I saw her and the Duke of York and Duchess. The Duke espied me and came to me, and talked with me a very great while.

19th. Weighed my two silver flagons at Stevens's. They weigh 212 oz., 27 dwt., which is about £50, at 5s. per oz.; and then they judge the fashion to be worth about 5s. per oz. more; nay, some say 10s. an ounce the fashion. Sorry to see that the fashion is worth so much, and the silver come to no more.

20th. Took two silver tumblers home, which I have bought.

21st. To Sir W. Turner's, and there bought my cloth, coloured, for a suit and cloak, to line with plush. I find that I must go handsomely, whatever it costs me, and the charge will be made up in the fruits it brings. Comes Mr. Martin to trouble me again to get him a lieutenant's place, for which he is as fit as a fool can be. But I put him off like an ass, as he is.

23rd. (Lord's day.) To church. At noon comes unexpected Mr. Fuller and dines with me. At night to the office doing business, and then home to supper. Then a psalm, to prayers, and to bed.

24th. Into the galleries at Whitehall to talk with my Lord Sandwich; among other things, about the Prince's writing up to tell us of the danger he and his fleet lie in at Portsmouth, of receiving affronts from the Dutch; which my Lord said he would never have done, had he lain there with one ship alone; nor is there any great reason for it because of the sands. However, the fleet will be ordered to go and lay themselves up at the Cowes. Much beneath the prowess of the Prince, I think, and the honour of the nation, at the first to be found to secure themselves. My Lord is well pleased to think that if the Duke and the Prince go, all the blame of any miscarriage will not light on him; and that, if anything goes well, he hopes he shall have the share of the glory, for the Prince is by no means well esteemed of by anybody. This day the great O'Neale died; I believe, to the content of all the Protestant pretenders in Ireland.

25th. Taking care of a piece of plate for Mr. Commissioner Pett, against the launching of his new great ship to-morrow at Woolwich, which I singly did move to His Royal Highness yesterday, and did obtain it for him to the value of twenty pieces. And he, under his hand, do acknowledge to me that he did never receive so great a kindness in the world as from me herein.

26th. My people rising mighty betimes, to fit themselves to go by water; and my boy, he could not sleep,

but wakes about four o'clock, and in bed lay playing on his lute till daylight, and it seems did the like last night till twelve o'clock. About eight o'clock, my wife and her woman, and Bessie and Jané, and W. Hewer and the boy to the waterside, and there took boat, and by-and-by I out of doors to look after the flagon, to get it ready to carry to Woolwich. By-and-by the flagon being finished at the burnisher's, I home, and there fitted myself, and took a hackney-coach I hired, it being a very cold and foul day, to Woolwich, all the way reading in a good book touching the Fishery, and that being done, in the book upon the statute of charitable uses, mightily to my satisfaction. At Woolwich; I there up to the King and Duke. Here I stayed above with them while the ship was launched, which was done with great success; and the King did very much like the ship, saying, she had the best bow that ever he saw. But, Lord! the sorry talk and discourse among the great courtiers round about him, without any reverence in the world, but with so much disorder. By-and-by the Queen comes and her maids of honour; one whereof, Mrs. Boynton, and the Duchess of Buckingham had been very sick coming by water in the barge, the water being very rough; but what silly sport they made with them in very common terms, methought was very poor, and below what people think these great people say and do. The launching being done, the King and



company went down to take barge; and I sent for Mr. Pett, and put the flagon into the Duke's hand, and he, in the presence of the King, did give it Mr. Pett, taking it upon his knee. This Mr. Pett is wholly beholding to me for, and he does know, and I believe will acknowledge it. Going out of the gate, an ordinary woman prayed me to give her room to London, which I did, but spoke not to her all the way, but read as long as I could see my book again. Dark when we came to London, and a stop of coaches in Southwark. Into the "Bear," at the Bridge foot to Sir W. Batten. Presently the stop is removed, and there going out to find my coach, I could not find it; so I fain to go through the dark and dirt over the bridge, and my leg fell in a hole broke on the bridge, but the constable standing there to keep people from it, I was caught up, otherwise I had broke my leg: for which mercy the Lord be praised! So home, where the little girl hath looked to the house well, but no wife come home, which made me begin to fear for her, the water being very rough, and cold and dark. But by-and-by she and her company came in all well, at which I was glad, though angry. The City did last night very freely lend the King £100,000, without any security but the King's word, which was very noble.

27th. At noon, Sir G. Carteret, Sir J. Minnes, Sir W. Batten, Sir W. Pen, and myself, were treated at

the "Dolphin," by Mr. Foley, the ironmonger, where a good plain dinner, but I expected music, the missing of which spoiled my dinner, only very good merry discourse at dinner.

28th. My tailor brings me home my fine, new coloured-cloth suit, my cloak lined with plush—as good a suit as ever I wore in my life, and mighty neat to my great content.

29th. Up, and it being my Lord Mayor's Show, my boy and three maids went out; but it being a very foul, rainy day from morning till night, I was sorry my wife let them go out. All the talk is that De Ruyter is come overland home with six or eight of his captains to command here at home, and their ships kept abroad in the Straits: which sounds as if they had a mind to do something with us.

30th. (Lord's day.) Put on my new, fine, coloured cloth suit, with my cloak lined with plush, which is a dear and noble suit, costing me about £17.

31st. To a Committee of Tangier, when Mr. Coventry proposed the retrenching some of the charge of the horse. The first word asked by the Duke of Albemarle was, "Let us see who commands them," there being three troops. One of them he calls to mind was by Sir Toby Bridges. Says he, "there is a very good man. If you must reform two of them, be sure let him command the troop that is left." This day, I hear young Mr. Stanley, a brave young gentleman that went

out with young Jermin with Prince Rupert, is already dead of the small-pox at Portsmouth. All preparations against the Dutch, and the Duke of York fitting himself with all speed to go to the fleet which is hastening for him; being now resolved to go in the *Charles*.

*November* 3. To the office, where strange to see how Sir W. Pen is flocked to by people of all sorts against his going to sea. This night Sir W. Batten did tell me strange news, which troubles me, that my Lord Sandwich will be sent Governor to Tangier, which, in some respects, indeed I should be glad of, for the good of the place and the safety of his person, but I think his honour will suffer, and, it may be, his interest fail by his distance.

4th. To St. James's where I find Mr. Coventry full of business, packing up for his going to sea with the Duke. Walked with him, talking, to Whitehall, where to the Duke's lodgings, who is gone thither to lodge lately. Talking about the management of our office, Mr. Coventry tells me the weight of dispatch will lie most upon me, and told me freely his mind touching Sir W. Batten and Sir J. Minnes, the latter of whom, he most aptly said, was like a lapwing, that all he did was to keep a flutter, to keep others from the nest that they would find. He told me an old story of the former about the light-houses, how just before he had certified to the Duke against the use of them, and what

a burden they are to trade, and presently after, at his being at Harwich, comes to desire that he might have the setting one up there, and gets the usefulness of it certified also by the Trinity House. After discoursing as how the King hath resolved upon Captain [Silas] Taylor and Colonel Middleton, the first to be commissioner for Harwich, and the latter for Portsmouth, home, and Mr. Duke, our Secretary for the Fishery, dined with me.

5th. To the Duke's house to see *Macbeth*, a pretty good play, but admirably acted. Thence home; the coach being forced to go round by London Wall home, because of the bonfires; the day being mightily observed in the City.

6th. (Lord's day.) Up, and with my wife to church. Dined at home. At night to supper with my uncle Wight, where very merry, and so home. To prayers and to bed.

7th. To Whitehall, where mighty thrusting about the Duke now upon his going. We were with him long. He advised us to follow our business close, and to be directed in his absence by the Committee of the Council for the Navy. By-and-by a meeting of the Fishery, where the Duke was; but I see the greatest businesses are done so superficially, that I wonder anything succeeds at all among us that is public. To my Lady Sandwich's, and there met my wife and dined, but I find that I dine as well myself—that is, as neatly,

and my meat as good and well-dressed, as my good Lady does, in the absence of my Lord.

8th. To the office, where by-and-by Mr. Coventry came, and after doing a little business, took his leave of us, being to go to sea with the Duke to-morrow. At noon, I and Sir J. Minnes and Lord Barkeley, who with Sir J. Duncum and Mr. Chichley are made Masters of the Ordnance, to the office of the Ordnance, to discourse about wadding for guns. Thence to dinner, all of us to the Lieutenant's of the Tower; where a good dinner, but disturbed in the middle of it by the King's coming into the Tower; and so we broke up, and to him, and went up and down the storehouses and magazines; which are, with the addition of the new great storehouse, a noble sight. This day, Mr. Lever sent my wife a pair of silver candlesticks, very pretty ones. The first man that ever presented me, to whom I have not only done little service, but apparently did him the greatest disservice in his business of accounts, as Purser-General, of any man at the Board.

9th. Called up, as I had appointed, between two and three o'clock. I and my boy Tom by water with a galley down to the Hope, it being a fine starry night. Got thither by eight o'clock, and there, as expected, found the *Charles*, her mainmast setting. Commissioner Pett aboard. I up and down to see the ship I was so well acquainted with, and a great work it is,

the setting so great a mast. Thence the Commissioner and I on board Sir G. Ascue, in the *Henry*, who lacks men mightily, which makes me think that there is more believed to be in a man that hath heretofore been employed than truly there is; for one would never have thought a month ago that he would have wanted 1000 men at his heels. Nor do I think he hath much of a seaman in him: for he told me, says he, "Heretofore we used to find our ships clear and ready, everything to our hands in the Downs. Now I come, and must look to see things done like a slave—things that I never minded, nor cannot look after." And by his discourse I find that he hath not minded anything in her at all. To Whitehall, and there the King being in his Cabinet Council, I desiring to speak with Sir G. Carteret, I was called in, and demanded by the King himself many questions, to which I did give him full answers. There were at this Council my Lord Chancellor, Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Treasurer, the two Secretaries, and Sir G. Carteret. Not a little contented at this chance of being made known to these persons, and called often by my name by the King. The Duke of York is this day gone away to Portsmouth.

10th. Abroad, intending to have spoke with my Lord Chancellor about the old business of his wood at Clarendon, but could not. My little girl Susan is fallen sick of the measles, we fear, or, at least, of the scarlet fever.

11th. To the Council chamber at Whitehall, where, looking upon some books of heraldry of Sir Edward Walker's making, which are very fine, I observed the Duke of Monmouth's arms are neatly done, and his title, "The most noble and high-born Prince, James Scott, Duke Monmouth," &c.; nor could Sir J. Minnes, nor anybody there tell whence he should take the name of Scott. And then I found my Lord Sandwich, his title under his arms is, "The most noble and mighty Lord, Edward Earl of Sandwich," &c. Sir Edward Walker, afterwards coming in, in discourse did say that there was none of the families of Princes in Christendom that do derive themselves so high as Julius Cæsar, nor so far, by 1000 years, that can directly prove their rise; only some in Germany do derive themselves from the patrician families of Rome, but that uncertainly; and, among other things, did much inveigh against the writing of romances, that 500 years hence being wrote of matters in general true, as the romance of Cleopatra, the world will not know which is true and which is false. A gentleman told us he saw the other day, and did bring the draught of it to Sir Francis Pridgeon, a monster born of an hostler's wife at Salisbury, two women children perfectly made, joined at the lower part of their bellies, and every part as perfect as two bodies, and only one pair of legs coming forth on one side from the middle where they were joined. It was alive twenty-four

hours, and cried, and did as a hopeful childrer do; but being shown too much to people, was killed. To the Council at Whitehall, where a great many Lords : Anglesea in the chair. But, Lord ! to see what work, they will make us, and what trouble we shall have to inform men in a business they are to begin to know, when the greatest of our hurry is, is a thing to be lamented; and I fear the consequence will be bad to us. Put on my new shaggy purple gown with gold buttons and loop lace.

13th. (Lord's day.) This morning to church, where mighty sport to hear our clerk sing out of tune, though his master sits by him, that begins and keeps the time aloud for the parish. With my wife within doors, and getting a speech out of *Hamlet*, "To be or not to be," without book. In the evening to sing psalms, and so to prayers and to bed.

14th. Up, and with Sir W. Batten to Whitehall, to the Lords of the Admiralty, and there did our business betimes. Thence to Sir Philip Warwick about Navy business : and my Lord Ashley ; and afterwards to my Lord Chancellor, who is very well pleased with me, and my carrying of his business. And so to the 'Change, where mighty busy ; and so home to dinner, where Mr. Creed and Mr. Moore ; and after dinner I to my Lord Treasurer's, to Sir Philip Warwick there, and then to Whitehall to the Duke of Albemarle about Tangier ; and then homeward to the coffee-house to



• hear news. And it seems the Dutch, as I afterwards found by Mr. Coventry's letters, have stopped a ship of masts of Sir W. Warren's, coming for us in a Swede's ship, which they will not release upon Sir G. Downing's claiming her: which appears as the first act of hostility, and is looked upon as so by Mr. Coventry. The *Elias*, coming from New England, Captain Hill, commander, is sunk; only the captain and a few men saved. She foundered at sea.

15th. To a Committee of Tangier, where, and everywhere else, thank God, I find myself growing in repute; and so home, and late, very late at business, nobody minding it but myself, and so home to bed, weary and full of thoughts.

16th. This day my wife went to the burial of a little boy of W. Joyce's.

17th. This day I received from Mr. Foley, but for me to pay for if I like it, an iron chest, having now received back some money I had laid out for the King, and I hope to have a good sum of money by me, thereby, in a few days—I think about £800. But when I came home at night I could not find the way to open it; but, which is a strange thing, my little girl Susan could carry it alone from one table clear from the ground, and set upon another, when neither I nor any one in my house but Jane, the cook-maid, could do it.

18th. To the Committee of the Fishery, where so poor simple doings about the business of the Lottery,

that I was ashamed to see it, that a thing so low and base should have anything to do with so noble an undertaking. But I had the advantage this day to hear Mr. Williamson discourse, who came to be a contractor with others for the Lotteries, and indeed I find he is a very logical man and a good speaker. I had a letter from Mr. Coventry, that tells me that my Lord Brouncker is to be one of our commissioners, of which I very glad if any more must be.

20th. (Lord's day.) Up, and with my wife to church, where Pegg Pen very fine in her new coloured silk suit, laced with silver lace.

21st. This day, for certain, news is come that Teddian hath brought in eighteen or twenty Dutchmen, merchants, their Bourdeaux fleet, and two men-of-war to Portsmouth. And I had letters this afternoon that three are brought into the Downs and Dover; so that the war is begun: God give a good end to it!

22nd. To my Lord Treasurer's: where, with Sir Philip Warwick, studying all we could to make the last year swell as high as we could. And it is much to see how he does study for the King, to do it to get all the money from the Parliament he can: and I shall be serviceable to him therein, to help him to heads upon which to enlarge the report of the expense. He did observe to me how obedient this Parliament was for a while, and the last Session how they begin to differ, and to carp at the King's officers; and what they will

do now, he says, is to make agreement for the money, for there is no guess to be made of it. He told me he was prepared to convince the Parliament that the subsidies are a most ridiculous tax, the four last not rising to £40,000, and unequal. He talks of a tax of Assessment of £70,000 for five years; the people to be secured that it shall continue no longer than there is really a war; and the charges thereof to be paid. He told me, that one year of the late Dutch war cost £1,623,000. Thence to my Lord Chancellor's, and there stayed along with Sir W. Batten and Sir J. Minnes, to speak with my Lord about our Prize Office business; but, being sick and full of visitants, we could not speak with him, and so away home, where Sir Richard Ford did meet us with letters from Holland this day, that it is likely the Dutch fleet will not come out this year; they have not victuals to keep them out, and it is likely they will be frozen before they can get back. Captain Cock is made Steward for sick and wounded seamen.

23rd. Sir G. Carteret was here this afternoon; and strange to see how we plot to make the charge of this war to appear greater than it is, because of getting money.

24th. To a coffee-house to drink chocolate—very good; and so by coach to Westminster, being the first day of the Parliament's meeting. After the House had received the King's speech, and what more he had

to say, delivered in writing, the Chancellor being sick, it rose.

25th. At my office all the morning to prepare an account of the charge we have been put to extraordinary by the Dutch already; and I have brought it to appear £852,700; but God knows this is only a scare to the Parliament, to make them give the more money. Thence to the Parliament House, and there did give it to Sir Philip Warwick; the House being hot upon giving the King a supply of money. Mr. Jennings tells me the mean manner that Sir Samuel Morland lives near him, in a house that he hath bought and laid out money upon, in all to the value of £1,200; but is believed to be a beggar. At Sir W. Batten's, I hear that the House hath given the King £2,500,000, to be paid for this war, only for the Navy, in three years' time: which is a joyful thing to all the King's party, I see; but was much opposed by Mr. Vaughan and others that it should be so much.

27th. (Lord's day.) To church in the morning, then dined at home, and to my office, and there all the afternoon setting right my business of flags. In the evening came Mr. Andrews and Mr. Hill, and we sung with my boy, Ravenscroft's 4-part psalms—most admirable music. After supper, fell into the rarest discourse with Mr. Hill about Rome and Italy: but most pleasant that ever I had in my life.

28th. Certain news of our peace made by Captain

Allen with Algiers; and that the Dutch have sent part of their fleet round by Scotland; and resolve to pay off the rest half-pay, promising the rest in the spring, hereby keeping their men. But how true this, I know not.

29th. Sir G. Carteret told us how the King inclines to our request of making us Commissioners of the Prize Office.

30th. To the Committee of the Lords, and there did our business; but, Lord! what a sorry dispatch these great persons give to business. My heart glad to see my accounts fall so right in this time of missing moneys and confusion. Home and to bed.

December 2. After dinner with my wife and Mercer to the Duke's house, and there saw *The Rivals*, which I had seen before; but the play not good, nor any thing but the good actings of Betterton and his wife, and Harris. Thence homewards, and the coach broke with us in Lincoln's Inn Fields. We all to Sir J. Minnes, where good discourse of the late troubles, they knowing things, all of them, very well; and Cocke, from the King's own mouth, being then intrusted himself much, do know particularly that the King's credulity to Cromwell's promises, private to him, against the advice of his friends, and the certain discovery of the practices and discourses of Cromwell in council, by Major Huntington, did take away his life, and nothing else. To my office to fit up an

account for Povy. At it till almost two o'clock, then to supper and to bed.

3rd. To a Committee of the Fishery: there only to hear Sir Edward Ford's proposal about farthings, wherein, O God! to see almost everybody interested for him, only my Lord Anglesey, who is a grave, serious man. My Lord Barkeley was there, but is the most hot, fiery man in discourse, without any cause, that ever I saw, even to breach of civility to my Lord Anglesea, in his discourse, opposing to my Lord's. At last, though without much satisfaction to me, it was voted that it should be requested of the King, and that Sir Edward Ford's proposal is the best yet made. The Duke of York is expected to-night with great joy from Portsmouth, after his having been abroad at sea three or four days with the fleet: and the Dutch are all drawn into their harbours. But it seems like a victory; and a matter of some reputation to us it is, and blemish to them; but in no degree like what it is esteemed at, the weather requiring them to do so.

4th. (Lord's day.) This day I hear the Duke of York is come to town, though expected last night, as I observed, but by what hindrance stopped I can't tell.

5th. Up, and to Whitehall with Sir J. Minnes; and there, among an infinite crowd of great persons, did kiss the Duke's hand, but had no time to discourse. By appointment comes my cousin Roger Pepys and Mrs. Turner and dined with me, and very merry we

were. To Whitehall, and there saw Mr. Coventry come to town, and with all my heart am glad to see him.

6th. To the Old Exchange, and there hear that the Dutch are fitting their ships out again, which puts us to new discourse, and to alter our thoughts of the Dutch as to their want of courage or force. Povy tells me how he believes, and in part knows, Creed to be worth £10,000—nay, that now and then, he hath £3,000 or £4,000 in his hands, for which he gives [Creed] the interest the King gives, which is ten per cent., and that Creed do come and demand it every three months the interest to be paid him, which Povy looks upon as a cunning and mean trick of him; but for all that he will do, and is very rich.

7th. By coach to my Lady Sandwich's, and there dined with her, and found all well and merry. Thence to Whitehall, and we waited on the Duke, who looks better than he did, methinks, before his voyage; and, I think, a little more stern than he used to do. Povy and Creed stayed and ate with me; but I was sorry I had no better cheer for Povy; for the fool may be useful, and is a cunning fellow in his way, though a strange one, and that, that I meet not in any other man, nor can describe in him.

9th. This day I had several letters from several places, of our bringing in great numbers of Dutch ships.

10th. At the office, where comes my Lord Brouncker with his patent in his hand, and I in his coach with him to the 'Change, where he set me down: a modest, civil person he seems to be, but wholly ignorant in the business of the Navy as possible, but I hope to make a friend of him, being a worthy man. Major Holmes is come from Guinea, and is now at Plymouth with great wealth, they say.

11th. (Lord's day.) To church alone in the morning. In the afternoon to the French church, where much pleased with the three sisters of the parson—very handsome, especially in their noses, and sing prettily. I heard a good sermon of the old man, touching duty to parents. Here was Sir Samuel Morland and his lady very fine, with two footmen in new liveries, the church taking much notice of them, and going into their coach after sermon with great gazing. So I home: my cousin, Mary Pepys's husband, comes after me, and told me that out of the money he received some months since he did receive 1s. 6d. too much, and did now come and give it me, which was very pretty.

12th. To Whitehall, where all of us with the Duke, Mr. Coventry did privately tell me the reason of his advice against our pretences to the Prize Office, in his letter from Portsmouth, because he knew that the King and the Duke had resolved to put in some Parliament men that deserved well, and that would be obliged by putting them in. Comes Cutler to tell us that the



King of France hath forbid any canvass to be carried out of his kingdom, This day to see how things are ordered in the world, I had a command from the Earl of Sandwich at Portsmouth, not to be forward with Mr. Chomley and Sir J. Lawson about the Mole at Tangier, because that what I do therein will, because of his friendship to me known, redound against him, as if I had done it upon his score. So I wrote to my Lord my mistake, and am contented to promise never to pursue it more, which goes against my mind with all my heart.

14th. To my bookseller's and there spoke for several books against new year's day, I resolving to lay out about £7 or £8: and bespoke also some plate spoons and forks.

15th. It seems, of all mankind there is no man so led by another as the Duke is by my Lord Muskerry and this Fitzhardinge: insomuch, as when the King would have him to be Privy Purse, the Duke wept, and said, "But, Sir, I must have your promise, if you will have my dear Charles from me, that if ever you have occasion for an army again, I may have him with me; believing him to be the best commander of an army in the world." But Mr. Chomley thinks, as all other men I meet do, that he is a very ordinary fellow. It is strange how the Duke also does love naturally, and affect the Irish above the English. He, of the company he carried with him to sea, took above two-thirds .

Irish and French. He tells me the King does hate my Lord Chancellor; and that they, that is, the King and Lord Fitzhardinge, do laugh at him for a dull fellow; and in all this business of the Dutch war does nothing by his advice, hardly consulting him. Only he is a good minister in other respects, and the King cannot be without him; but, above all, being the Duke's father-in-law, he is kept in; otherwise Fitzhardinge were able to fling down two of him. This all the wise and grave Lords see and cannot help it, but yield to it. But he bemoans what the end of it may be, the King being ruled by these men, as he hath been all along since his coming: to the razing all the strongholds in Scotland, and giving liberty to the Irish in Ireland, whom Cromwell had settled all in one corner; who are now able, and it is feared every day a massacre beginning among them. To the coffee-house, where great talk of the comet seen in several places; and among our men at sea, and by my Lord Sandwich, to whom I intend to write about it to-night. This night I began to burn wax candles in my closet at the office to try the change, and to see whether the smoke offends like that of tallow candles.

16th. Bought a looking-glass by the Old Exchange, which costs me £5 5s. and 6s. for the hooks. A very fair glass.

17th. To the 'Change, and there, among others, had my first meeting with Mr. L'Estrange, who hath en-

deavoured several times to speak with me. It is to get now and then some news of me, which I shall, as I see cause, give him. He is a man of fine conversation I think, but I am sure most courtly and full of compliments. Mighty talk there is of this comet that is seen a'nights; and the King and Queen did sit up last night to see it, and did, it seems. And to-night I thought to have done so too: but it is cloudy, and so no stars appear. But I will endeavour it. Mr. Gray did tell me to-night, for certain, that the Dutch, as high as they seem, do begin to buckle; and that one man in this Kingdom did tell the King that he is offered £40,000 to make a peace, and others have been offered money also. It seems the taking of their Bordeaux fleet thus, arose from a printed Gazette of the Dutch's boasting of fighting, and having beaten the English: in confidence whereof, it coming to Bordeaux, all the fleet comes out, and so falls into our hands.

18th. (Lord's day.) After supper, Mr. Fuller, the parson, and I, told many stories of apparitions and delusions thereby, and I out with my stories of Tom Mallard; and then to prayers and to bed.

19th. With Sir J. Minnes to Whitehall, and there we waited on the Duke; and, among other things, Mr. Coventry took occasion to vindicate himself before the Duke and us, being all there, about the choosing of Taylor for Harwich. Upon which the Duke did clear him, and did tell us that he did expect that, after he

had named a man, none of us shall then oppose or find fault with the man; but if we had anything to say, we ought to say it before he had chosen him. Sir G. Carteret thought himself concerned, and endeavoured to clear himself: and by-and-by Sir W. Batten did speak, knowing himself guilty, and did confess, that, being pressed by the Council, he did say what he ~~did~~ that he was accounted a fanatic; but did not know that at that time he had been appointed by his Royal Highness. To which the Duke replied, that it was impossible but he must know that he had appointed him; and so it did appear that the Duke did mean all this while Sir W. Batten.

21st. To Mrs. Turner, to Salisbury Court, and with her a little; and carried her, the porter staying for me, our eagle, which she desired the other day, and we were glad to be rid of her. They are much pleased with her. My Lord Sandwich this day writes me word that he hath seen at Portsmouth the comet, and says it is the most extraordinary thing he ever saw.

22nd. Met with a copy of verses, mightily commended by some gentlemen there, of my Lord Mordaunt's, in excuse of his going to sea this late expedition with the Duke of York. But, Lord! they are sorry things, only a Lord made them. Thence to the 'Change; and there among the merchants, I hear fully the news of our being beaten to dirt at Guinea, by De Ruyter with his fleet. The particulars, as much as by Sir G.

Carteret afterwards I heard, I have said in a letter to my Lord Sandwich this day at Portsmouth: it being most wholly to the utter ruin of our Royal Company, and reproach and shame to the whole nation, as well as justification to them, in their doing wrong to no man as to his private property, only taking whatever is found to belong to the Company, and nothing else. Dined at the "Dolphin"—Sir G. Carteret, Sir J. Minnes, Sir W. Batten, and I, with Sir William Boreman, and Sir Theophilus Biddulph and others, Commissioners of the Sewers, about our place below to lay masts in. But coming a little too soon, I out again, and took boat down to Redriffe; and just in time within two minutes, and saw the new vessel of Sir William Petty's launched, the King and Duke being there. It swims and looks finely, and I believe will do well. Coming away back immediately to dinner, where a great deal of good discourse, and Sir G. Carteret's discourse of this Guinea business, with great displeasure at the loss of our honour there, and do now confess that the trade brought all these troubles upon us between the Dutch and us.

24th. Having sat up all night till past two o'clock this morning, our porter being appointed, comes and tells us that the bellman tells him that the star is seen upon Tower Hill; so I, that had been all night setting in order all my old papers in my chamber, did leave off all, and my boy and I to the Tower

Hill, it being a most fine, bright, moonshine night, and a great frost, but no comet to be seen. At noon to the 'Change, to the coffee-house; and there heard Sir Richard Ford tell the whole story of our defeat at Guinea, wherein our men are guilty of the most horrid cowardice and perfidiousness, as he says and tells it, that ever Englishmen were. Captain Raynolds, that was the only commander of any of the King's ships there, was shot at by De Ruyter, with a bloody flag flying. He, instead of opposing, which indeed, had been to no purpose, but only to maintain honour, did poorly go on board himself, to ask what De Ruyter would have, and so yield to whatever De Ruyter would desire. The King and the Duke are highly vexed at it, it seems, and the business deserves it. I saw the comet, which now, whether worn away or no, I know not, appears not with a tail, but only is larger and duller than any other star, and is come to rise betimes, and to make a great arch, and is gone quite to a new place in the heavens than it was before; but I hope, in a clearer night, something more will be seen.

25th (Lord's day.) To Mr. Rawlinson's church, where I heard a good sermon of one that I remember was at Paul's with me—his name Maggett; and very great store of fine women there is in this church, more than I know anywhere else about us.

26th. To Sir W. Batten's, where Mr. Coventry and all our families here, and Sir Richard Ford and his,

and a great feast, and good discourse and merry, and so home to bed, where my wife and people innocently at cards, very merry. I to bed, leaving them to their sport and blindman's buff.

27th. Up at seven, and to Deptford and Woolwich in a galley; the Duke calling me out of a barge in which ~~the~~ King was with him to know whither I was going. I told him to Woolwich, but was troubled afterwards I should say no further, being in a galley, lest he should think me too profuse in my journeys. The comet appeared again to-night, but duskily. I went to bed, leaving my wife and all her folks, and Will also, to come to make Christmas gambols to-night.

28th. My wife to bed at eight o'clock in the morning, which vexed me a little, but I believe there was no hurt in it at all, but only mirth. Visited my Lady Sandwich, and was there with her and the young ladies playing at cards till night. Then home to bed, leaving my wife and people up to more sports, but without any great satisfaction to myself.

30th. To several places to pay away money, to clear myself in all the world, and, among others, paid my bookseller £6 for books I had from him this day, and the silversmith £22 18s. for spoons, forks, and sugar-box.

31st. To my accounts of the whole year till past twelve at night, it being bitter cold, but yet I was well satisfied with my work; and above all, to find myself, by the great blessing of God, worth £1,349, by which.

as I have spent very largely, so I have laid up above £500 this year above what I was worth this day twelve-month. The Lord make me for ever thankful to his holy name for it! Soon as ever the clock struck one, I kissed my wife in the kitchen by the fireside, wishing her a merry new year.

So ends the old year, I bless God, with great joy to me, not only from my having made so good a year of profit, as having spent £420, and laid up £540 and upwards; but I bless God I never have been in so good plight as to my health in so very cold weather as this is, nor indeed in any hot weather, these ten years, as I am at this day, and have been these four or five months. But I am at a great loss to know whether it be my hare's foot, or taking every morning of a pill of turpentine, or my having left off the wearing of a gown. My family is my wife, in good health, and happy with her; her woman Mercer, a pretty, modest, quiet maid; her chamber-maid Bessie, her cook-maid Jane, the little girl Susan, and my boy, which I have had about half a year, Tom Edwards, which I took from the King's chapel; and as pretty and loving quiet a family I have as any man in England. My credit in the world and my office grows daily, and I am in good esteem with everybody, I think. My troubles of my uncle's estate pretty well over; but it comes to be of little profit to us, my father being much supported by my purse. But great vexations remain upon my



father and me from my Brother Tom's death and ill condition, both to our disgrace and discontent, though no great reason for either. Public matters are all in a hurry about a Dutch war. Our preparations great; our provocations against them great; and, after all our presumption, we are now as much afraid of them as we lately contemned them. Everything else in the State quiet, blessed be God! My Lord Sandwich at sea with the fleet, at Portsmouth; sending some about to cruise for taking of ships, which we have done to a great number. This Christmas I judged it fit to look over all my papers and books, and to tear all that I found either boyish or not to be worth keeping or fit to be seen, if it should please God to take me away suddenly. Among others, I found these two or three notes, which I thought fit to keep:—

## AGE OF MY GRANDFATHER'S CHILDREN.

Thomas,	1595.	Edith, October 11, 1599.
Mary, March 16,	1597.	John, (my father), Jan 14, 1601.
My father and mother married at Newington in Surrey,		
Oct 15, 1626.		

## THEIR CHILDREN'S AGES.

Mary, July 24, 1627.	mort.*	Sarah, August 25, 1630.	mort.
Paulina, Sept. 18, 1628.	mort.	Jacob, May 1, 1637.	mort.
Esther, March 27, 1630.	mort.	Robert, Nov. 18, 1638.	mort.
John, January 10, 1631.	mort.	Paulina, Oct. 18, 1640.	
Samuel, Feb. 23, 1632.		John, Nov. 26, 1641.	mort.
Thomas, June 18, 1634.	mort.	December 31, 1664.	

\* The word "mort" must have been in some instances added long after the entry was first made.

## CHARMS.

## 1. FOR THE STENCHING OF BLOOD.

Sanguis mane in te  
Sicut Christus fuit in se ;  
Sanguis mane in tuâ venâ  
Sicut Christus in suâ poenâ ;  
Sanguis mane fixus, •  
Sicut Christus quando fuit crucifixus.

## 2. A THORN.

Jesus, that was of a Virgin born,  
Was pricked both with nail and thorn ;  
It neither wealed nor belled, rankled nor boned ;  
In the name of Jesus no more shall this.

Or, thus :—

Christ was of a Virgin born,  
And he was pricked with a thorn ;  
And it did neither bell nor swell ;  
And I trust in Jesus this never will.

## 3. A CRAMP.

Cramp be thou faintless,  
As our Lady was sinless,  
When she bare Jesus.

## 4. A BURNING.

There came three angels out of the East ;  
The one brought fire, the other brought frost—  
Out fire ; in frost,  
In the name of the Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost.

AMEN.